CHINESE CH'AN (ZEN) BUDDHIST MONASTICISM AND ITS TEACHING

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By
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Ch'an Master Pai-chang Huai-hai

ABSTRACT

This study investigates and analyzes Ch'an monastic development during the T'ang and Sung Dynasties. Ch'an masters developed a monastic system unique in the history of world Buddhism, different in important respects from the Indian Vinaya brought into China, but maintaining lines of continuity. Ch'an monasticism succeeded in China because Ch'an masters realistically approached the problem of adapting Buddhism into a Chinese cultural milieu with strong ethics of work and filial piety, and that of developing a niche for Buddhism beside the indigenous Confucian and Taoist traditions. Their solution was both internal, in a redefinition of Buddhist ideals together with a program for economic self-sufficiency, and external, in a successful campaign to win social and political support. The study traces also the political fortunes of Buddhism in general and the Ch'an School in particular, from royal patronage in the pre- and early T'ang periods, through the late T'ang period persecutions, and stabilization in the Sung period. Unique methods of Ch'an survival developed from Ch'an doctrines of iconoclasm and antinomianism, and the treatment of labor as spiritual practice.

The character and development of the monastic Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei), both textually and practically, forms the backbone of this study. Considerable attention is given to the Ch'an master Pai-Chang (749-814), the most important monastic reformer in the history of Chinese Buddhism, but also to the contributions of his teacher, the Ch'an master Ma-Tsu (709-788), and to the Ch'an master Te-Hui, whose *Pure Rule of Pai-Chang Re-edited under Imperial Decree* was published in 1336 under the auspicies of the Yuan Dynasty Emperor Shun-Ti. The textual genealogies of the Pure Rule and personal lineages of its transmission are described in detail. The bureaucratic apparatus of the Ch'an monastery is and the monastic precepts underpinning the institution are examined closely.

Monastic living embodies a number of ethical ideals, both individual and social. The study traces the place of *sila*, good conduct, in the Ch'an ethical vision, and the abbot as the highest ethical embodiment. The ethical implications of competing Ch'an pedagogues, particularly the gradualist and immediatist approaches to enlightenment are considered, as are some of the ethical shortcomings of the application of Ch'an doctrines of no-thought. The study concludes that Ch'an monasticism's ethical strength lay not so much in its doctrines and texts, but in its functioning as a model of egalitarian, democratic society.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSM	Chi Sha-men pu-ying pai-su teng shih	集沙門不應拜俗等事
CTCTL	Ching-tê-chuan-têng lu	景德傳燈錄
DRMGTV	Dharmagupta-Vinaya	法藏部律(四分律)
Ennin	Ennin 圓仁, Nittō-guhō junrei gyōki in Dainihon Bukkyō zensho, vol. 113.	
HTC	Hsü Tsang Ching	續藏經
KSC	Kao-sêng chuan	高僧傳
MHSGKV	Mahāsaṅghika-Vinaya	摩訶僧祇律
SKSC	Sung kao-sêng chuan	宋高僧傳
SVSTVSV	Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya	說一切有部十誦律
T	Taishō Tripitaka	大正藏經

CONTENTS

Chinese Ch'an (Zen) Buddhist Monasticism And Its Teaching.

Chapter 1

Introduction

After the transmission of Buddhism into China, a variety Buddhist sects gradually developed under indigenous socio-political and cultural circumstances. Among them was the Ch'an (Zen) School, which came to define the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. As a result of cultural differences between India and China, Chinese Buddhists were forced to adapt Indian Buddhist monasticism. After a period of struggle and serious religious persecution, a uniquely Chinese monasticism developed in the Ch'an School, which survived and flourished while other sects failed. This dissertation examines two elements critical to the success of the Ch'an School: its monastic system and its teaching.

The subject will be studied from two points of view: Ch'an monastic organization and its teaching. Ma-Tsu Tao-I (馬祖道一, 707-786) and his disciple, Pai-Chang Huai-Hai (百丈懷海, 720-814) together articulated the cornerstones of the Ch'an School, and constitute perhaps the two most influential Ch'an masters. Ma-Tsu Tao-I founded the Ch'an monastery, and Pai-Chang Huai-Hai founded the Ts'ung-Lin Ch'ing-Kuei (叢林清規), the Ch'an monastic rules adapted by Chinese Buddhist institutions nationwide as Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei (百丈清規), Pai-Chang's Pure Rule. A Ch'an slogan reflected the disciplined spirit of Pai-Chang's Pure Rule: "One day without work, one day without eating" (一日不作, 一日不食).

What is the meaning of the Ch'ing-kuei (清規, Pure Rule)? The Ch'ing Kuei (Pure Rule) describes the organization of the Ch'an School's monasteries and regulation of the daily life for the monks and nuns regarding all activities, tasks, and affairs. It proves as a blue print for monks' walking, living, sitting, and lying daily ritual. The monastic members must obey the regulations and learn the ritual. Ch'ing means pure as well as the pure water. Kuei means codes, so that the ritual regulation can bring the members the benefits of being pure. Therefore, it is called the Ch'ing-kuei.[1]

In addition to Pai-Chang's Pure Rule, this study attempts to understand the life and thought of some major Ch'an masters, who contributed to the development of the Ch'an School. Various aspects of Ch'an practice and thought will emerge in the course of the study.

Definitions of Ch'an and Monasticism

The term Ch'an (禪) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *dhyana* (Pali: *jana*). Traditionally, there have been two meanings of the term Ch'an (*dhyana*). It means, first, to contemplate, particularly a given object, to examine closely the characteristics of phenomenal existence. Secondly, it means to eliminate, especially hindrances, the lower mental elements which are detrimental to higher progress.[2] Additionally, through the development of Chinese Buddhism, the Ch'an School created a special meaning of Ch'an. The record of the sixth patriarch Hui-Neng's teaching provides one representative explanation of this third, distinctively Chinese meaning of Ch'an. The *Platform Sutra*

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1 Chi-Hui T'sai, *A Study of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang Haui-Hui*.(Master Thesis, Taipei: Culture University,1991), p. 117.

2 Paravahera Vajiranana Mahathera, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice.* (Malaysis: Buddhist Missionary Society, 1975), p.35.

(*T'an-ching* 壇經) says, "No thought arising from circumstances is sitting; to see one's nature clearly is Ch'an."[3] The "nature" referred to is the Buddha-nature, which is to say self-nature, original nature, mind-nature. *Chung-Fung Ming-Pen* (中峰明本, 1263-1323), a syncretizer of the late Ch'an School, also provides a pithy interpretation of this third meaning of Ch'an: "Ch'an is everyone's original face. There is no Ch'an to be contemplated upon beyond this."[4] The following passage may help illuminate the thrust of this approach:

> "Ch'an has been described as an intuitive method of spiritual training aimed at the discovery of a reality in the innermost recesses of the soul, a reality that is the fundamental unity which pervades all the differences and particulars of the world. This reality is called the mind, or the Buddha-nature that is present in all sentient beings. In common with other Mahayana systems, Ch'an teaches that this reality is *sunya*, empty or void, inexpressible in words and inconceivable in thought. To illustrate this, the Ch'an masters often resorted to silence or negation to express the truth. Being inexpressible and inconceivable, this reality or the Buddha-nature can only be apprehended by intuition directly, completely, and instantly. Intellectual analysis can only divide and describe and scratch the surface but cannot apprehend the fundamental reality."[5]

Generally, Ch'an Buddhists claimed that the highest Truth is inaccessible to speech and rational thought. They propagated a direct, intuitive approach to enlightenment without recourse to canonical texts or rational reflection. All reasoning must be broken

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3 *T* 48, p. 339.
4 天目明本禪師雜錄卷上"結夏示順心庵眾", 續藏經卷七十, p. 713.
5 Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China.* p. 357.

down, by means of exhausting meditation sessions, including the use of bizarre themes for concentration such as paradoxes, and even deliberate forcible blows.

Commenting on the term for monasticism, Ts'ung-Lin" (叢林), I-Jun (儀潤) provides the following interpretation: "*Ts'ung-Lin* (叢林) means the place where grass and trees aggregate. It is a metaphor for the monastery as the place for Sangha members to stay, for practitioners to stabilize their minds and cultivate their Path, as well as to nurture the sprout of the Path, to attain the holy stage, and benefit sentient beings.... "[6]

I. Methodology and Sources

Several approaches will be applied in this work. The historical background in which the Chinese accepted the Buddha-Dharma will be examined. Also the cultural background of both India and China will be compared and their differences illustrated. The work will also examine how Buddhism adapted doctrinally or notionally to existing Chinese cultural norms, including the development of Buddha-Dharma through the development of Ch'an experience. Finally, the imputed decadence of monasticism will be analyzed.

Abundant material is available for study. The primary sources for this study include *Chih-Shiou Pai-Chang Ching-Kuei* (敕修百丈淸規), *The Pure Rule of Pai-Chang Re-Edited under the Emperor's Decree*, *Ch'an-Lin Pao-Hsun* (禪林寶訓), *A Collection of Ch'an Masters' Precious Admonishes*, *Ching-Te Ch'uan-Teng Lu* (景德傳燈錄), *The Record of the Lamp of Transmission of Ching-Te*, and the Vinaya text in

6 I-Jun. *Pai-Chang Ts'ung-lin Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-i Chi* 百丈叢林淸規證義記, HTC 63, 續藏經, p. 379c.

Chinese and English. Secondary sources include Chinese, English and Japanese books and articles.

This study is divided into eight chapters and three appendices. Chapter 1 introduces the subject generally, discusses the sources available for study, explains the different approaches and provides some historical backgrounds. Chapter 2 investigates Ch'an monastic development in the T'ang and Sung dynasties, and the teachings of two major Ch'an schools. Chapter 3 analyzes Pai-Chang's life, thought, and his Pure Rule, including the factors that contributed to the establishment of the Pure Rule and their implications. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the organization of Ch'an monasticism, and considers the prefaces of the various versions of Pure Rule, tracing the transformation of Pai-Chang's Pure Rule. The chapter also discusses in detail the “two wings” of monastic administration.

Chapter 5 discusses monastic daily activities, including various rituals such as Ch'an training, ordination and the invitation to labor known as P'u-Ching (普請). Chapter 6 discusses the teachings of particular Ch'an masters' teaching, especially Ch'an T'ang, and whose life and doctrine of two special retreats are discussed in detail. Chapter 7 discusses the morphology of monastic teachings. The *Ch'an-Lin Pao-Hsun* (禪林寶訓) serves as the point of departure: after a long period of development, the Ch'an School moved toward decadence in both its monastic system and its teachings. Although the *Ch'an-Lin Pao-Hsun* (禪林寶訓) provides Ch'an masters' moral teachings, and has inspired numerous Buddhists, it also reflects the undesirable changes that occurred at the time of its composition. The book also provides the evidence that Ch'an masters have been strongly influenced by Chinese traditional thoughts, such as Confucianism and Taoism.

II. Historical Background

1. Cultural Differences between India and China

Buddhism was initially transmitted into China from India during the reign of the Eastern Han Dynasty Emperor Ming (206 B.C.-220 A.D). Indian Buddhism aimed at individual salvation in nirvana, a goal attainable by leaving the household life, to use the familiar phrase in Buddhist literature, and entering houselessness, the life of celibacy and mendicancy. In assuming monastic robes, Indian Buddhist monks and nuns terminated their ties with family and society, so that wives became widows, husbands widowers, and children orphans. In India, Buddhist priests recognized no distinction of caste within the monastic community,[7] and considered monks not to be of this world, hence, not bound by the ties that bind lay people to society.[8] Indian kings likewise looked upon Buddhist monks in effect as a species of "holy men," rather like Brahmins, and treated them accordingly.[9]

This religion naturally met with resistance in a country where filial piety, family life and a strong agrarian work ethic were the dominant features of society.[10] Where Indian monastic life required celibacy, in traditional China a good son was obliged to marry and produce male offspring to continue the family line. Traditional Chinese society regarded mendicancy not as virtuous, but as misguided, and potentially subversive of the value of work and social discipline. Shaving the head, also a requirement of Buddhist monasticism, ran contrary to Confucian principles of filial piety, as hair was regarded as a gift from

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7 Hurvitz Leon, *Sino-India Studies, Liebenthal Festschrift.* vol. 5, part 3 &4 (Santiniketan, 1957), p.80.

8 Ibid., p. 81.

9 Ibid., p. 80.

10 Nan Hui-Chin 南懷瑾. *The Institution of Ch'an Monasticism and Chinese Society.* (Taipei: Tzu-yu Chupan-she, 1962), p.48.

one's parents and so not be cut off. In death, too, there was conflict.[11] Insofar as Chinese society regarded itself not merely as one nation inhabiting one plot of earth, living according to one set of customs, but as the only civilized society on earth, the only society living according to a set of rules that matched the macrocosmic order--the precepts of the new religion were not just different, but barbaric. Beyond these cultural and philosophical differences also lay another level of resistance.

The Chinese emperor was widely regarded not merely a chief of state among chiefs of states, but the Vicar of Heaven on earth, the rightful source of all temporal authority.[12] Successful transmission of Buddhism effectively demanded the graces of the emperors. According to the prerogative of the crown, no one, including aspiring Buddhist priests, could consider himself or herself merely by religious station exempt from paying homage and respect to imperial authority.[13] The long process of negotiation between crown and monastery--a struggle between imperial power and religious autonomy--began in the ninth month of 462, during the reign of Emperor Hsiao-Wu of the Liu Sung dynasty, when a proposal was presented calling for monks to render the proper homage to the Emperor.[14] A century and a half later, Emperor Yang (reigned 605-616) of the Sui dynasty ordered the clergy to pay homage to him, but the clergy refused to comply.[15] Emperor Huan-Tzung of the T'ang Dynasty issued an edict in 731 insisting that "... from now on , monks and nuns should have to obey the secular regulations by not wandering

11 Translated by Kathryn Ann Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns: Biographies of Chinese Buddhist Nuns from the Fourth to Sixth Centuries.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), p. 4.

12 Leon Hurvitz Leon, Ibid., p. 81.

13 Ibid., p. 82.

14 CSM 2, T 52, p. 452a.

15 CSM 2, T 52, 452a; 3. T 52, 456c.

around after midnight. Whoever disobeys this will be expelled from the Order...."[16] Emperor Wen-Tzung (r. 827-840) of the T'ang dynasty, echoed the claim a century later: "...recently there have been issued regulations prohibiting monks and nuns form wandering around after midnight; for these black-robed priest are not different from the other plebeians...."[17]

These orders show clearly the Chinese emperors' insistence that Buddhist priests observe civil law and custom, and thereby demonstrate their accountability to the crown. To resist the emperors' orders, Chinese monks and their lay-supporters wrote essays to defend what they perceived as their religious freedom. Articulating the essential differences between monks and ordinary citizens that placed monks in a separate category of civil society, a category previously unknown in Chinese life, Tao-Hsuand wrote:

> "In his manner of living, the monk has no regard for wealth and sensuous beauty and is not shackled by honors and emoluments. He considers mundane matters as floating clouds, and his form and life as a bright flame. Therefore he is proclaimed as one who has left the household life. One who has done so no longer embraces the rites of one who remains in the family, one who has forsaken the world is no longer immersed in the practices of the world. Such a principle is self-evident, and is the unchanging model for a hundred generations."[18]

He further quoted the scripture, *Fan-wan-ching* (Brahmajala-sutra): "It is the teaching that those who leave the household life do not reverence the ruling prince, the parents, or

16 Edited by Min-Ch'iu Sung (1019-1079), *A Collection of the Important Imperial Edicts of the T'ang Dynasty or T'ang tao-chao-ling chi.* p. 588.

17 Ibid., p. 591.

18 Ibid., p. 591.

the relationships."[19] From the *Nirvana-sutra* came the following: "Those who have left the household life should not reverence the householder."[20] In short, the sovereignty of the Chinese emperor, related to Confucian idea and norms, contravened Buddhist monastic values at fundamental levels. Although by 662, during the T'ang period, Buddhist clergy were no longer required to reverence the ruler, they were still required to reverence their parents.[21]

2. Culture Binding--The Chinese View of Filial Piety

Traditional Chinese thought emphasized the ways in which parents and children share a primary, intimate, indeed a sacred relationship--which religion must not contravene. Children were taught to serve and respect their parents in the following ways: making certain that parents were not lacking in anything; informing the parents beforehand of all activities; respecting and not acting contrary to the wishes of parents; not disobeying parents' commandments; not terminating the traditions of the parents.[22] The central unit of the ideal Confucian social and cultural system was thus the family, not the individual, and not society at large. Confucian ideology insisted that filial piety, in the form of obedience that nurtured the family as an ethical entity, be the foundation of the social and cultural system. Filial piety as ethical training was reflected in the popular Confucian dictum, "Filial piety is the basis of virtue and the source of teaching." We are told by another ancient source that "of the 3,000 offenses included under the five punishments, none is greater than unfilial conduct."[23]

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19 T 24, p. 1008c.
20 T 12, p. 399c.
21 CSM 6, T 52, p. 472c-473c.
22 Ibid., p. 19-20.
23 Ibid., p. 14.

Just as filial piety started with the service of parents, it continued with service of the ruling prince, and ended with the establishment of a society rooted in service.[24] The practice of piety, in which, according to one ancient source, "the filial son serving his parents is most respectful to them while living, most joyful in supporting them, greatly worried at their illness, deeply grieved at their death, and utterly solemn at the sacrifices" served as the model for civil politics--in which the people honored their leaders as the son honors a parent. The practice of filial piety generated social ethics, encouraging persons to cultivate compassion and justice in one another.[25]

In short, missionary Indian monks entered a world in which reverence to parents and to ancestors, continuous gratitude to those who created bodies and sustained minds during their formative, vulnerable stages, embodied the highest ethical demands. The strength of filial piety--not just the glorification of the parents, but the establishment of individual ethical consciousness and the sustenance of ethical memory across generations --required a uniquely creative response from Buddhist missionaries.

The thrust of the effort to make Buddhism acceptable to Chinese society had to address, and did address, the issue of filial piety. Buddhists developed a three-tiered rebuttal to the charge that Buddhism was a corrupt, foreign doctrine lacking an essential filial piety, which is to say a respect for a virtuous consanguinity.

1. Buddhists elucidated the numerous sutras in the Buddhist canon that stress filial piety

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[24] Knneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. (Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 14.

[25] Ibid., p. 14.

2. Buddhists forged a body of apocryphal literature that emphasize piety as its central theme

3. Buddhists effectively contended that the Buddhist concept of filial piety was in fact superior to that of the Confucian, in that it aimed at universal salvation for the living as well as for ancestors, while the Confucian piety was limited to the single family.[26]

Complicating the transmission of Buddhism was the fact that Chinese clerics early on tended to receive a solid Confucian education as a background to their Buddhist studies. Those who wished to devote themselves to the Sangha were first asked: "Have you ever received a Confucian education?" If the answer was negative, they were taught the Confucian classics before learning the Buddhist scriptures.[27] In this way Confucian doctrine strongly influenced all elements of Chinese society--including those, like the Buddhist clergy, that otherwise sought and won autonomy.

Buddhists went to great lengths to locate and disseminate particular sutras and commentaries to refute the Confucian charge that Buddhism did not teach filial piety. The commentary of Tzung-Mi (780-841), of the Hua-Yen and Ch'an School, provided a catalogue of Buddhist sutras stressing the theme of filial piety. Prominent in the catalogue is the *Fan-wan-ching (Brahmayala-sutra),* which contains passages such as the following: "We should be filial, obedient, and compassionate toward our parents, our brothers, and other relatives;" "if we are children of the Buddha, we should constantly entertain the earnest wish of being filial and obedient to our parents, teachers, monks, and the Three

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[26] Kenneth K. S. Chen, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., Princeton University Press, 1973) p. 18.

[27] Mark Tatz, *Asanga's Chapter on Ethics: With the Commentary of Tsongkha-pa.* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1981), p. 65.

Jewels."[28] The sutra elsewhere terms filial piety and obedience an "ultimate path", and "precepts."[29] Such statements served to assuage Confucian criticisms of Buddhist customs, such as celibacy and shaving the head, which were contrary to traditional Chinese views on filial piety.[30]

Another sutra, the *Fa-sheng t'ao-li-t'ien wei-mu shuo-fa-ching (Sutra on the Buddha ascending to Trayastrimsa Heaven to preach to his mother),* translated by Dharmaraksha,[31] contains a narrative embodying the filial piety of the Buddha. According to the Buddha legend, Maya, mother of the Buddha, died seven days after giving birth to the child. The sutra states that after the Buddha attained enlightenment, he ascended to Trayastrimsa Heaven and remained there for three months, preaching the Dharma to his mother. With his filial piety duty completed, he descended to earth again to resume his mission among living human beings. In another story illustrating the Buddha's personal filial piety, the Buddha carries his father's coffin after his father's death. Monks and nuns asked their interrogators, do not these stories not demonstrate filial piety?

Likewise the sutra entitled *Fu-mu-en-chung-nan-pao-ching (Parental love is difficult to repay)* stresses the debt children owe to their parents. The following passage is typical: "The Buddha proclaimed to the monks, 'Parents are most helpful and beneficial to the child. The mother breast-feeds and nurtures the child at all times to help him grow. When the child is grown up, he should not entertain any ill-feeling toward his parents, even though he should carry his father on his right shoulder and his mother on his left for

28 T 24, p. 1006a, 1007b.
29 T 24, 1004a-b.
30 Robert E. Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), p. 255.
31 T17, p. 787b-799c.

a thousand years, supposing this is possible to do so. Yet even this deed is not sufficient to repay for the love of parents.'"[32]

One of the most popular sutras during the T'ang dynasty, the *Fu-mu en-chung ching (Sutra on the importance of parental love),* describes filial duty for parents. The following excerpt, from a sermon given by the Buddha, illustrates the overriding sentiment of the text:

> "In this world our parents are closest to us. Without parents we would not be born. We are lodged in our mother's womb for ten months, and when the time is ready, the child is born and falls on the mat. The child is nurtured by the parents and put to sleep in the cradle. Embraced by the parents, he makes all kinds of noises, and smiles even though he does not talk. When he is hungry and needs food, only the mother will feed him. When the mother is hungry, she swallows her bitterness and gives out sweet words; she allows the baby to sleep in the dry place while she herself occupies the wet spot. Only the father will love him, only the mother will nurture him. The loving mother goes back and forth to the cradle, and of her ten fingers, her forefinger is never clean (because of her always tending the child). ...Vast and in bundles indeed is the love of a mother for her child. How can one repay such a loving mother?"[33]

Following this speech, Ananda, the Buddha's close disciple, asks the Buddha, "May the Blessed One tell us how the loving care of parents is to be repaid?" The Buddha replies to Ananda: "If a filial, obedient, and loving son would prepare sutras and thus create

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32 Ibid., p. 19.
33 Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, p. 38-39.

blessings for his parents, or prepare a *yu-lan-p'en* offering to the Buddha and the monks on the fifteen days of the seventh month, thereby receiving boundless fruits, such a son would be repaying the love of his parents. If there is also a person who copies this sutra and circulates it among the people, so that it would be read and recited, that person would be repaying the love of his parents."[34] In the same way, "if there are faithful sons and daughters who would, for the sake of their parents, recite one sentence or one verse in this *Mahaparajnaparamita-Sutra on the loving care of parents,* they would be able, as soon as they have done so, to wipe out without any trace all offenses against their superiors,[35] to listen constantly to the words of Buddha, and to attain emancipation."[36] Thus the Buddha enjoins that the sutra be named *Fu-mu en-chung-ching*: if there are living beings who are able to create blessings for their parents, prepare sutras, burn incense, adore the Buddha, make offerings to the Three jewels, or feed the assembly of monks, all should know that these people are repaying the loving care of their parents.[37]

The missionaries' strategy of promulgating Buddhism through selective and sensitive textual interpretation proved successful. By the T'ang dynasty, Buddhism had taken root across China. The new religion attracted people from every walk of life. Monastic life appealed to hermits and recluses disposed to retreat from the cares of the world to seek solace and tranquillity. It won the respect of hard-working laymen who remained in society with their daily labors. Buddhist teaching equally impressed women who were saddened by family losses, the high-born who desired something permanent in the world of change, and the lowly and the humble who sought for a better rebirth in the

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[34] Ibid., p. 39.
[35] Heaven, earth, prince, parents, and teachers.
[36] Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, p. 40.
[37] T 85. p. 1403b-1404a.

future. A broad cross section of society was drawn to the Indian religion, which by this time had infiltrated into all elements of Chinese society.

Still certain questions remain. Beyond textual exegesis, what precisely were the methods used by the Buddhists in propagating their religion? What instruments did the missionaries use in the campaign to spread of the tenets and practice of the religion? According to the T'ang sources, the principal technique used to spread the message of the Buddha was through expositions of the sutras. Like Chih-Tun, who lectured on the teaching of Vimalakirti, monks preached on their favorite text. Audiences consisted of kings, princes, householders, common people, and country folk, and monks were skilled at using various methods for their preaching according to the needs and attention of their listeners. Beyond this, monks recited and chanted the texts publicly; through their exposure the texts became assimilated. Certain texts, such as the Nirvana-sutra, became widely popular.[38] In general it should be noted that Buddhist scriptures translated from the Sanskrit constituted a literary treasury that introduced new horizons, new literary genres and new ways of expression and rhetorical devices. The Tun-Huang Caves scriptural tales, for example, are indebted to Buddhist literature. Buddhism's influence manifested directly in the growing popularity of its doctrine, and indirectly in various fields of Chinese culture.[39]

In time the monks' public lectures came to be sanctioned by an imperial decree which commenced public religious education broadly. According to the decree, Buddhist monasteries would present lectures on Buddhism, and Taoist monasteries would lectures

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38 Kenneth K. S. Chen, p. 241.

39 Pu-Chu Chao, p. 24-26.

on Taoism[40] (according to the Ennui's record). In addition, the Buddhist Sangha sponsored festivals throughout the year, during which monks taught and preached the dharma to the general public and to the gentry. These festivals attracted large numbers of lay people, providing an effective way for people to express religious feeling and to be educated in Buddhist doctrine. Also there were vegetarian feasts sponsored by monasteries, monks, and pious lay people. These feasts provided opportunities for fraternizing between the clergy and the laity on a basis of equality, and encouraged a spirit of friendship, cooperation, and camaraderie between the two. Cordial relations grew up between the monasteries and the communities in which they were located. Ordained and unordained alike came to feel that they were contributing substantially toward the progress of the religion.[41] Through these efforts, Chinese Buddhism become thoroughly integrated into the Chinese scene, and became an inextricable part of the Chinese cultural pattern. The T'ang dynasty saw Chinese Buddhism at its highest point of development.

3. Political Background

When Indian Buddhism was introduced into China during the Han dynasty, it confronted an entirely different political atmosphere. The Chinese political system was based on the concept of the strong central authority in the administration of this authority by a complex network of bureaucratic organs in the capital and the provinces. The ideology of the system was Confucian, and one of principal features of this ideology was the concept of Li, or proper conduct, according to which order, stability, and harmony in

40 Ennin's Dairy, trans., by E. O. Reichauer, New York, 1955, p. 86.
41 Ennin, p.86.

the empire would be achieved of every member of society performed correctly the various functions that he as a member of the society was supposed to perform.[42]

By joining the Buddhist Sangha and undertaking the vows of celibacy, poverty, subsistence on alms, and cultivation of monastic discipline, Buddhist monks often felt freed from the norms of political and social conduct that governed the lives of ordinary people. Many claimed that they were no longer obliged to reverence and render homage to the secular rulers of the state. However, by assuming monastic vows, members of the Buddhist Sangha did not cease to be civil subjects. To the contrary: assuming monastic vows meant assuming the yoke of monastic law on top of civil law. The result was a nascent tension, with imperial governments keen to control or at least to supervise the affairs of the Sangha.[43]

This tension participated in the momentous political, social, and economic change that transformed the agrarian-based, aristocratic society of the Chinese Middle Ages. While Buddhism enjoyed considerable prosperity in the tenth century, by the late imperial period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries--the period encompassing the Sung (960-1279), Yuan (1280-1368), Ming (1368-1644), Ch'ing (1644-1912)--Chinese society became thoroughly confucianized in the rise of Neo-Confucianism, which became official orthodoxy.[44] Buddhism declined steadily, especially the non-Ch'an schools.[45] It proved no small historical irony that where the initial transmission of Buddhism into China relied heavily on textual and narrative transmission, the Ch'an and Pure Land schools survived in

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42 Kenneth K. S. Chen, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. p. 67-68.

43 Kenneth K. S. Chen. p. 69.

44 Joseph M. Kitagawa & Mark D. Cummings, *Buddhism and Asian History*. (London: Macmillan Publishing Co.), p. 147-148.

45 Ibid., p. 148.

the face of persecution by their relative freedom from texts, compared to other schools. The teaching of Ch'an developed as a mind-to-mind transmission from masters to disciples. This phenomenon will be examined in detail below.

The Chinese customarily refer to the major Buddhist persecutions as the "Three Wu and One Tzung,"[46] because three of them took place during the reign of emperors whose posthumous name contained the word *wu* and the fourth occurred during the reign of an emperor whose posthumous name is Shih-Tzung (955) of the short-lived laster Chou, hence the "One Tzung." The "Three Wu" are:

1) Emperor T'ai-Wu (446) of the Northern Wei Dynasty,

2) Emperor Wu-Tzung (574) of the Northern Chou Dynasty, and

3) Emperor Wu-Tzung (845) of the T'ang Dynasty.[47]

The traditional adage somewhat obscures the fact, however, that the Buddhist community in China was subjected to far more persecutions and harassments then those represented by the "Three Wu and One Tzung" alone. These constitute merely the most notable persecutions, those carried out with the greatest thoroughness and under overall government supervision.

The history of persecution of Buddhism is worth tracing in some detail. As mentioned, Buddhism came to full blossom during the T'ang dynasty, particularly during the reign of Emperor Hsuan-Tzung (唐玄宗, 755), who was known as An-shih-chih-luan (安史之亂, 755). This flowering followed the initial, peaceful transmission of Buddhism

46 Daisaku Ikeda, p.153.
47 Ibid., p. 154.

during the reign of the emperor Ming of the Han dynasty, which continued during the Sui dynasty, when Buddhism came to be practiced by the emperor and throughout the land.[48]

In the split between the northern and southern kingdoms later in T'ang period, the northern ruler Wu-Tzung (845) initiated an anti-Buddhist campaign. Buddhism was severely persecuted and came close to being destroyed. The northern Wu dynasty gradually recovered from the instabilities precipitated by the persecutions, but under Emperor Chou Shih-Tzung (周世宗, 955) in the second year of the Shean-Der (顯德) period (955), Chinese Buddhism again was persecuted. Contemporaneously, the Northern Chou Emperor Wu issued in 874 an edict banning both the Buddhist and Taoist religions. Accounts report that temples dating back several hundreds of years were leveled to the ground, Buddhist images were melted down, scriptures were burned, and some three million monks and nuns were returned to secular life, though the last figure may seem difficult to credit.[49] Emperor Wu's persecution was successful enough virtually to eliminate Buddhism from northern China.

Under the Sung emperor Tai-Tsu (宋太祖, 960), China was reunited. During the following three hundred and seventy years, Buddhism recovered somewhat, recouping in both Northern and Southern China. Although northern Buddhism initially developed faster than southern Buddhism, southern Buddhism ultimately spread further than its northern counterpart.[50] The greatest southern patron, according to the historical record, was Emperor Liang Wu-Ti (梁武帝), who built more than five hundred monasteries.

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48 Yin-Shun. *A Brief Chinese Buddhist History*. (Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1983) p.3.

49 Daisaku Ikeda, p. 156.

50 Yin-Shun. *A Brief Chinese Buddhist History*. (Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1983) P.39.

During his reign, monks and nuns numbered in the ten of thousands. By the end of the period there were more than three thousand monasteries and more than two hundred thousand monks and nuns.

Still, in the proliferation of monks and nuns, suspicion arose in many quarters concerning the quality of their training and character. Bad feeling between the monks and lay people gradually took hold, because monks and nuns did not pay taxes, and wasted large sums of money building unnecessarily ornate buildings and statues. The Sung government, while not renewing persecution, felt justified to impose controls on Buddhism.

One almost feels that the vigorous flowering of Buddhism that took place during the Sui and T'ang dynasties was traceable to the Buddhist persecutions of the Northern Chou. From that period of oppression, Buddhism rose up with renewed vigor and dedication, and its fortunes revived.[51] The history if the Buddhist persecutions in China has embodied an important lesson, namely, that Buddhism could never rely upon consistent aid or patronage from official circles in spreading its teachings.

It is clear that Buddhism spread among the people as the result of the efforts of the local clergy and religious leaders, sometimes with approval from the men in government office, sometimes without it.[52] Once it took hold in the popular consciousness--gaining credence first among the members of the gentry class and then the populace as a whole, influencing and in turn being influenced by Confucianism, Taoism,

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[51] Daisaku Ikeda, *The Flower of Chinese Buddhism*. (New York: Weatherhill. Tokyo, 1986), p. 165.

[52] Ibid., p. 166.

and the other traditional systems of belief in China--when, that is, it had evolved into a distinctively Chinese religion with its own institutions and practices, and ceased to be a creed imported from India and Central Asia, and became a body of beliefs expressive of the faith and inner spiritual being of the Chinese people as a whole[53]--at that point government persecution was powerless to uproot it.

The nature of the persecutions indicate, however, that the points of conflict between the Buddhist clergy and the government arose along the familiar suture lines between Buddhism and traditional Chinese society.

Buddhist monasteries were susceptible to the criticism that they were profitless and unproductive bodies in society, and that members of the clergy were evaded of military conscription. Persecutors of Buddhism mocked the Buddhist clergy in their discipline and rituals, their shaven heads and their intoning of their sutras. They accused them of preaching the doctrines of a foreign religion, and of being privileged idlers who contributed nothing to society.[54] Such criticisms resurrected the rivalry between Buddhism and the other traditional religions or system of thought in China, particularly Confucianism and Taoism. In every anti-Buddhist campaign, we find some influential Taoist and Confucian adviser who was close to the ruler and who persuaded him to embark upon a course of anti-Buddhist activity. Of course history displays many examples of political leaders who, at the height of their power, allowed themselves to be talked into employing men of uncertain bent, usually with disastrous results.[55]

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[53] Ibid., p. 168.
[54] Ibid., p.156.
[55] Ibid., p. 158-159.

When for political facts Buddhism was persecuted, resulting in the loss of many valuable documents, works of art, and the decline of some schools, Ch'an was always the first to recover itself and to renew its activities with redoubles energy and enthusiasm. Throughout the Five Dynasties, in the first half of the tenth century, when China was torn up into minor kingdoms again, and general political situations seemed unfavorable to the thriving of religious sentiments, Ch'an prospered as before and the masters maintained their monastic centers undisturbed.[56] It is to the internal aspects of Buddhist life that enabled Buddhist survival that we now turn.

4. Religious Background

The Sui and T'ang periods from the end of the 6th century to the middle of the 9th century C.E. were the golden age of Buddhism in China.[57] During these periods a number of important schools and sects developed, including the Hau-Yen, the Vinaya, and the Pure Land or T'ien-Tai school, founded by Chih-I in the 6th century C.E. The Dhyana school in China, became known as Ch'an. It emerged as a strongly intuitive school, depending to a minimal extent on texts and canons. Its main teaching was an immediate Way by which one obtains a direct and instant realization of the nature of mind. The teaching was originally brought by Bodhidharma in the 5th century, and was subsequently popularized by Hui-Neng, the Sixth patriarch, between the 7th and 8th centuries.

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[56] D. T. Suzuki. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1949), p. 109.

[57] Pu-Chu Chao, *Buddhism in China*. (Peking: The Buddhist Association of China, 1960), p. 14.

As noted above, the various schools of Buddhism in China had a great influence upon thinking people. Considerable evidence suggests that the Neo-Confucian metaphysical and moral philosophy of the Sung and Ming dynasties--which proved an important component in the persecution of Buddhism--was in fact produced to a large extent under the stimulation and influence of the teachings of the Ch'an School and other Buddhist Doctrines. Likewise the later part of the Ching dynasty witnessed a general increase in the study Buddhism among intellectuals. Some of the pioneers of the movement for democratic thought, such as Tan Ssu-tung, Kang Yu-wei and others, adopted one part or other of Buddhist doctrines as their weapons of thought, particularly Buddhist concepts of equality, compassion, impermanence and non-ego.[58]

Even during the periods of persecution, in the life and culture of the upper class Buddhism was everywhere accepted. Despite the revival of the examination system with an archaistic Confucian curriculum, Buddhism remained the dominant intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic interest of the educated. Officials and nobles were munificent patrons of Buddhism, and the pattern of their donations shows the widespread acceptance of all the practices developed in north and south: the giving of alms to the monks and for charitable works, the giving of house for temples, the donation of land for the endowment of monasteries and temples, the commissioning of greater or lesser votive images and paintings, the financing of special services and religious lectures, the conspicuous outpourings of treasure in the pursuit of religious merit.[59]

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[58] Pu-Chu Chao, p. 17-18.

[59] Arthur F. Wright, *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*. (London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 22-23.

Still, Buddhism's success during the T'ang period resulted from more than its acceptance among the educated and elite. The T'ang imperial clan in fact claimed descent from Lao-Tzu and itself favored Taoism. The central authorities pursued a policy of religious toleration, giving each religion an opportunity to develop--a policy that allowed Christianity, Islam, and Manichaeanism to find adherents during the T'ang period.[60] Since Buddhism was already so widespread in China, this official tolerance propelled it to unprecedented heights under the friendly patronage of some of the T'ang rulers, so that its power and influence far exceeded those of Taoism.[61] Buddhism came to be supported by all elements of society, from the imperial household and the nobility, to the great and wealthy families, and the common people.[62]

The T'ang Dynasty was ended in 960 by the unification of the Chinese Empire under the Sung Dynasty. The Buddhism which developed under the Sung differed from that of the Sui-T'ang era in several aspects. Of all the schools that arose during the T'ang, only the Ch'an and Pure Land remained active under the new dynasty. In practice, the monastic community was more numerous and the economic activities of the Sangha were even more extensive under the Sung than under the T'ang regime. However, no outstanding Buddhist cleric such as Hsuan-tsang (玄奘) and Fa-tsang (法藏) emerged, no new school of Buddhist thought developed, and no important Buddhist sutra was translated.[63] Instead, the main Sung contribution came in the continued building of monasteries, the continued ordination of monks, and in general the carrying-on of monastic economic and religious activities. The Sung period generally witnessed what

60 Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey.* (Taipei: Sheng-tuang Press, 1963), p. 213.

61 Ibid., p. 213.

62 Ibid., p. 214.

63 Ibid., p. 389.

one historian has aptly called "the slackening momentum of a faith which for all its wealth and majesty survived more as a great tradition than as a spiritual force."[64]

While a slackening of momentum characterized Buddhism as a whole during the Sung period (960-1279), Ch'an, unlike other schools, reached the height of its development and influence. By the Yuan (1280-1367) and Ming (1368-1661) dynasties, Buddhism is virtually identified with Ch'an. Ch'an as the essence of the Buddha's mind continued to flourish, so that any Chinese minds inclined towards Buddhism came to study Ch'an and neglected other Buddhist schools.[65] T'ien-Tai did prove a great influence on people, but it did not establish any special Sangha community in China. More than other schools, Ch'an represented an original Chinese adaptation of the Indian heritage, built upon Bodhidharma's injunction that his disciples to look directly into the essence of the teaching of the Buddha, discarding outward manners of presentation and sectarian conceptual and analytical interpretations of the doctrine of Enlightenment.[66] It was precisely the inner plasticity of the Ch'an approach that enabled its penetration into Chinese thought--a penetration so deep and so permanent that its authenticity in Chinese life was beyond question.

That Buddhism had entered into the life of Chinese thought and became the real possession of the Chinese mind is best evidenced by its role in the Confucian revival. The revival constituted a critical contributing factor to the relative slow-down in the growth of Buddhism during the Sung dynasty. Confucianism's re-emergence marked a return by Chinese thinkers to an ancient, and some said more indigenous cultural heritage. Such

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64 Ibid., p. 389.
65 Ibid., p. 109.
66 Ibid., p. 110.

thinkers claimed that they could find in the Confucian classics as system of ethics and metaphysics as formidable as Buddhist ways of life and doctrines.[67] However, Sung period Confucian philosophers naturally took in Buddhist ideas, and many considered them to provide the optimal and indeed necessary foundation for the growth of Confucianism.[68] Ch'an ethical idealism proved the inspiration for the Confucian ethical reconstruction, [69] and Ch'an metaphysics laid the foundation of what Chinese historians have called the Sung "Learning of Principle."[70]

The intimate relationship between Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism was complemented by equal intimacy between Buddhism and Taoism, which had entered into heated controversy from the sixth century. Buddhism exerted its influence over Taoism not only in form of doctrinal dispute, but actually in molding their thought and literature. Buddhism borrowed many things from Taoism in order to make itself more easily acceptable to native minds. On the whole, Taoism owes more to Buddhism so far as its organization, rituals, literature and philosophy are concerned. Taoism systematized itself after the Buddhist model, and came to encompass popular superstitions native to China, in the midst of Indian elements, and the original contributions of Lao-Tzu emphasizing immortality, worldly welfare, and a unique notion of "purity".[71]

Buddhist monasticism marked the cleanest distinction between Buddhism and the rival Confucian and Taoist systems. Its development--the subject of the following

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67 Ibid., p. 395.
68 Ibid., p. 113.
69 Ibid., p.115.
70 Ibid., p. 114.
71 Ibid., p. 113.

chapters--arose from a combination of Indian religious legacy, interaction with Confucian and Taoist influences, and conflict with civil authorities.

The Ch'an master Ma-Tsu formalized the institution of the monastery and his disciple, Pai-Chang, established a distinctive monastic regulation based on his own insights into the nature of Vinaya discipline. Pai-Chang institutionalized a special monastic practice in which everyone could systematically practice Ch'an, which became the system commonly called "the thickly-populated monastery,"[72] whose emphasis was public community life and communal sharing of property. The emergence of practices not specified in the Vinaya in turn provoked increased government efforts to subject religious ordination to state control, extending government supervision of Sangha and temple activities and entrenching monasticism in conflict with secular authority.[73]

III. Conclusion

The self-reliance at the core of Pai-Chang's monastic discipline reverberated with the long-standing tension between religious autonomy and state authority, and initiated a new period of compromise and conflict. Pai-Chang's reformation likewise reverberated with the cultural differences between Indian and Chinese cultures that challenged Buddhism from its initial transmission. In effect Pai-Chang reached a compromise, integrating filial piety and a strong work ethic into the core of monastic discipline. Such a compromise proved exceedingly resilient, and has been largely responsible for the perpetuation of Buddhism in China down to the present day.

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72 Nai-Kuang. *The System of Ch'an's Founder: Pai-Chang and Ma-Tzu*. p. 80-82.
73 Ibid., p. 241.

Although Chinese Buddhism had been supported by Sui, T'ang and Sung emperors, many of whom had extended patronage and allotted lands for the building monasteries, these emperors in return demanded certain media of control of the monasteries and temples, including the supervision of ordination and regulations, and the appointment of governing monks. In one sense the period witnessed a so-called Golden Age. At the same time it witnessed heights of imperial persecution, the "Three Wu and One Tzung", and the activity of the Hui-Ch'ang era.[74]

During the Sung period, many Buddhist schools declined. The Ch'an and Pure Land, however, continued to spread their teachings, principally because the Ch'an school did not depend upon the Buddhist scriptures for its teaching. Ch'an School patriarchs replied upon the mind-to-mind transmission from masters to pupils. The imperial persecutions drove members of city monasteries such as Chang-an and Lo-yang, into mountains--a migration reflected in the proverb: "The most famous mountains were occupied by monks."[75] The difficulty of life in the mountains cultivated a self-sufficiency that turned out in fact to be a blessing under the reforms of Pai-Chang.

The Ch'an school influenced and was influenced by Taoism, Confucian, and other native religions, so that through them, the Ch'an school became a unique sect able to flourish in China around one thousand year. Later the Ch'an school exported its monastic system to Japan and Korean. Pai-Chang's extensive contributions to the Ch'an school and to Buddhism as a whole will be considered in later chapters.

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74 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 148.

75 Nan Hui-Chin. *Chinese Culture and Ch'an Sect Monasticism* . (Taipei: Old Culture Press, 1992), p. 81.

Chapter 2

The Development of Monasticism

I. Ch'an Monastic Development During the T'ang Dynasty (618-907)

Ch'an monasteries developed in response to the need to teach and transmit the Dharma. Monasticism was a uniquely Ch'an innovation, bringing together practitioners to live, study, train, and solve common problems of spiritual cultivation. The number of practitioners numbered from a hundred to two thousand. The establishment of the Ch'an monastery as an institution is attributed to Ma-Tsu. A comprehensive administrative structure of the monastery was necessary for teaching and management, and for the successful performance of monastic labors.[1]

When the Indian teacher Bodhidharma came to China, he successfully transmitted the Buddha-dharma, which is also called the seal of the mind, setting up the dharma-door of Ch'an School. The first five patriarchs each transmitted the Dharma to a few disciples, but after the six patriarch, Hui-Neng, the Dharma was transmitted to many disciples, so that the Ch'an School began to flourish. Gradually more and more people became monks and nuns. The success of Buddhism after Hui-Neng was due in part to Hui-Neng's innovations, and partly to the absorption of monasticism in Chinese culture over the previous five hundred years, beginning from the time of Emperor Ming-Ti (明帝, 59 C.E.) of the Hān Dynasty. During these five hundred years, Indian Buddhist theory and practice had to be modified in a new and complex set of cultural conditions. The definitive stage

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[1] Nun Huai-Chin, *The Educational Thought and Perfomance of Ch'an School*. (Taiwan: Chinese Cultual University's Dissertation, 1966), p. 161.

in this modification came with the Ch'an master Pai-Chang's codification of monastic rules known as the Ch'ing-Kuei (The Pure Rule).

One scholar has explained this development as follows:

> In India, monks and nuns had a special status. People respected them greatly. When they went begging through the streets, people were pleased to donate to them. However, in Chinese society, to live by begging for food was looked down upon by the people, and monks and nuns living this way did not receive much respect or sympathy. Although a few monks and nuns were supported by rich people and higher officials who sponsored them, the others had difficulty supporting themselves...The Chinese were a simple and hard working race; they emphasized performance. Their culture was built upon agriculture and emphasized working in the field to support oneself, not by begging in the streets. If they did, they would be looked down and criticized by people who would say that those monks and nuns were parasites and were disabled people of society.... The weather of India was warm, and wild fruit and vegetables could be found in abundance. When the monks and nuns did not get alms for food, they could pick wild fruits and vegetables. In China the weather was different. It was cold and was not as convenient or easy to find food as in India...[Beyond this,] traditional Chinese culture stressed filial piety. The *Book Filial Piety* said: "Our body, hair, and skin were given to us by our parents; we dare not destroy or hurt them." This was called the beginning of filial piety. However, monks and nuns left home to go far way, and shaved their heads. This was a violation of filial piety; therefore, most people discriminated against them.[2]

In sum, the Indian Buddhist begging tradition could not be practiced in China, and indigenous Chinese traditions developed instead. During the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, the Ch'an School was in full flourish. As Ch'an practitioners gradually multiplied, Pai-Chang, with an eye toward the Indian Buddhist Vinaya, set up the Ch'ing-Kuei (the Pure Rule), which was well adapted to Chinese conditions. The monks and nuns were to live together; the Rule promoted labor and food production in order to achieve self-sufficiency instead of going out begging. Such modifications arose from circumstantial necessity.

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2 Ts'ai, Chin-T'ao 蔡金濤, *An Educational Theory and Practice of Ch'an School.* (Taipei: Private Chinese Culture University, 1966), p. 162-163.

The Ch'an monastery traditionally has traditionally been a kind of educational institution--a place to learn Ch'an and learn Buddhism, and a place to cultivate peoples' minds and to save sentient beings. As the master said: "the monastery is for training and cultivating common people to be transcendental people. As such, cultivated people arise from it. Although it was a place in which different people came together, it was a educational institution to train people to be of good conduct."[3]

In some respects the monastery in the Ch'an School was like a secular school. The secular school was stitched together with ranks from top to bottom and from left to right -- a balanced organization, a unified system. By contrast, the monastery was without rankings or entrance limitations. People entered the Ch'an School without any need and special qualification--only a sincere mind. When one graduated, it was based not on age but merit. But if one attained Buddhahood, one was graduated. One could leave the school to live in another place or preach the dharma. The monastic "school" was without age and race limitations. It was a prefect and complete school.

During the T'ang Dynasty, there was a policy known as Seng-Kuan (僧官), "governed monastery," which meant that all monasteries were governed by the nation and appointed by the government, the T'ang Dynasty. The monastery was a governed organization of the Buddhist community.[4] In China, this practice had been followed at various times under the Sui Dynasty, but Seng-Kuan begun from the Northern Wei Dynasty. Later the concept became known by other names. During the T'ang Dynasty, the Seng-Kuan became Seng-T'ung (僧統),[5] Seng-Lu (僧錄),[6] Seng-Cheng (僧正)[7].

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3 Ts'ai, Chin-T'ao 蔡金濤, Ibid., p. 164.

4 Hajime Nakamura 中村 元, *The Historical Chinese Buddhist Development.*(Taipei: T'ien-Wan Press, 1984), p. 221.

5 Seng-t'ung was a governed county or state monastery. Ibid., p. 221.

Besides this, there is a term called San-Kang (三綱), the three principles of the monastery, which are Shang-Tso (上座) [8], Ssu-Chu (寺主)[9], Wei-Na (維那). [10] These principles governed the largest monasteries, in which there were departments known as Seng-Cheng (僧正), Seng-Tou (僧都), and Lu-Shih (律師), corresponding to the three principles of the Seng-Kuan (僧官). These monastic departments were established by dynastic decree during different historical periods, which accounts for the variation in names. However, during the period before the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang, all monasteries' regulations and duties had not yet been uniformly established.[11] The need for regulation arose in part by the growth of monasteries. By the T'ang Dynasty, large monasteries possessed many lands and operated other business such as rental storage, rental housing, and retail stores.[12] In the later T'ang Dynasty, the construction of new monasteries was strictly controlled by the central government, a change from the Sui period, when monasteries were managed by members of Sangha. However, as stated, during the T'ang Dynasty, the monasteries the three principles for handling the monastery labors, which became the main form of monastic self-management.[13]

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[6] Seng-lu was related to the assistant of the centeral Seng-kuan and is governed Buddhism and Taoism's monks and affairs. Ibid., p. 222.

[7] Seng-cheng was governed by the monk's affairs of the local area under its jurisdiction. It could have many Seng-chengs. Ibid., p.222.

[8] Shang-tso was governed and guided by inner monks of monastery, and is the highest post in the monastery. It was like todays abbot position. Ibid., p. 223.

[9] Ssu-Chu was a representative of the monastery, who was charged with monastic, social and outside affairs. Ibid., p. 223.

[10] Wei-Na governed the affairs all of monastery such as lecture hall and dining hall and preparing the instruments, etc. Ibid., p. 223.

[11] Ibid., p. 223.

[12] Ibid., p. 223.

[13] Translated by Sheng-Yen Shih, *A Brief Chinese Buddhist History*. (Taipei, Shang-Wu Press, 1972), p. 74.

The Chinese Ch'an school began with Bodhidharma and later divided during the T'ang period into the Northern school and the Southern school of the Patriarch Hui-Neng, following Hui-Neng's sudden enlightenment. Today the Ch'an school has even been transmitted into Western countries. There can be hardly any question that the Ch'an school has been broadly welcomed by Chinese people across the centuries. One important reason is that Confucian and Taoist schools of thought, themselves deeply rooted in Chinese culture, are related to Buddhism, and in some ways even derive from Buddhism. Confucian and Taoist thought thus gave legitimacy to Ch'an indirectly. Buddhism provided answers to concerns common to all Chinese people. For example, Buddhism explained that by leaving home and becoming a monk, though it involved a celibate life, satisfied the requirement of filial piety through the process of saving all beings, each of which had at some past time been the monk's mother or father.

It will be important to examine why sectarian developments arose within Ch'an monastic life in the period between the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. First, however, it is necessary to examine the monastic system as it developed during the two dynastic periods. Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster stress that the origin of the regulations as Ch'ing-Kuei (the Pure Rule) is critical in the Ch'an tradition.[14] As distinct from the Buddhist precepts contained in the Indian Sila and Vinaya, the Ch'ing-Kuei generally includes articles stressing the importance of the strict observance of the Sila and the Vinaya, that is, both the Mahayana and Hinayana precepts. The Ch'ing-Kuei frequently provides detailed prescriptions for ordination ceremonies at which the precepts were formally taken which address the spiritual lives of all Buddhists monks and nuns. The Ch'ing-Kuei ordination procedures include both Sila and Vinaya prescriptions. They were

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[14] Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*. (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1983), p. 165.

compiled by Ch'an leaders to serve as guides to proper monastic practice for succeeding generation of monk-administrators.

The Ch'ing-Kuei includes covers the whole range of monastic activities and organization, economic activities, and design of monastic buildings and their layout. Thus through the Ch'ing-Kuei, we can trace the development of Ch'an religious life: the genealogy of mediation, labor, regular community assemblies, and private meetings between the abbot and individual monks seeking guidance. The Ch'ing-Kuei is the Sila and Vinaya adapted to Chinese society and a monastic life of self-support.

Pai-Chang's establishment of the Ch'ing-Kuei for Ch'an school monasteries finds its analogue in Saint Benedict's establishment of the Cistercian rules for orders in medieval Europe: both give them monastic life their distinctive imprint and provided a source of institutional vitality and continuity.[15] Lai and Lancaster claim that it is no accident that the most important and comprehensive surviving Ch'ing-Kuei was compiled in the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasty when Ch'an had assumed a dominant position in Chinese Buddhist circles. The Ch'ing-Kuei was at once the source and product of this sectarian maturity and independence.[16]

The importance of the Ch'ing-Kuei in the formation of a characteristic Ch'an monastic life is emphasized by the fact that many leading Chinese and Japanese Ch'an masters devoted considerable energy to its compilation, recovery, explication, and enforcement. Ch'an monks of the Sung Dynasty like Yang-I (楊億) and Tzung-Tse (宗賾) strove to revive and augment the pioneering activity of Pai-Chang.[17] In transmitting the

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[15] Ibid., p.166.
[16] Ibid., p.166.
[17] Ibid., p.166.

Sung Dynasty Ch'an practice from China to Japan and Korea, these rules became exceedingly popular. The Japanese monks Yosai (榮西) and Dogen (道元)[18] brought Ch'an practice from China and established it successfully in Japan. Both stressed the importance of Ch'ing-Kuei as the proper vehicle for a full and authentic transmission. They sought to recreate in Japan a mirror image of the Chinese practice of Ch'an monastic life by applying Chinese regulations to accord with the different social circumstances in Japan, and to meet the special needs of particular monasteries and schools. The Ch'ing-Kuei thus provides a unique source for tracing the institutional development of Ch'an both in China and internationally after the T'ang Dynasty.

During the T'ang period, the Ch'an divided into two main branches. One branch held that enlightenment came in a single moment of sudden and total illumination, the other that it came about in the course of a long, many-phased program of discipline and meditation. The subitaneous branch of Ch'an had closer affinities with the native traditions of Taoism, such as belief in the direct, love of paradox, bibliophobia, person-to-person exchange, and often wordless communication of insight--all these are colored with Taoism.[19] The Ch'an School was based on intense concentration on individual enlightenment, and its sense of the Tao or Buddha-nature immanent in nature held an irresistible appeal for artists, writers, and all those who, for longer or shorter period, sought the life of contemplation.[20] From the T'ang to Sung period, Ch'an was very widespread.

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18 Ibid., p.166.

19 Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*. (California: Stanford University Press, 1971), p.78.

20 Ibid., p.78-79.

II. Ch'an Monastic Development During the Sung Dynasty (960-1367)

During the Sung Dynasty, the Ch'an school's popularity continued. Ch'an emphasized iconoclasm. It held no reverence for literature, images, or rituals. It discouraged the study of texts and the exercises of the intellect.[21] Rather Ch'an emphasized mind to mind transmission from patriarchs to disciples, on which a well-known verse said: "[There is a] transmission outside the teachings, not relying on words and characters, directly pointing at man's mind, seeing one's nature and realizing Buddhahood."[22]

We know that until northern and southern Sung Dynasty (960-1367 CE), when Taoist masters were influential, Buddhism suffered some major periods of suppression, and innumerable lesser persecutions. The results of all theses attempts at curtailment are well known. Nevertheless, the tradition has continued to survive into the present day. Transmitted continuously over more than a thousand years, Buddhism eventually became an integral part of Chinese culture. It added a quiet dignity to the very nature of Chinese society, which influenced neighboring cultures to the East and South.[23] As Buddhism became authentically Chinese, China changed Buddhism, adapting and unifying it with its own cultural system.[24]

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21 Kenneth K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey.* (Taipei: Sheng-Tuang Publshiing, 1963), p. 398.

22 T 17. p.135a, *Lankavatara Sutra.* Cf. also Buswell, Robert E. & Gimello, Robert M. *Paths to Liberation: The Marga and Its Transfomations in Buddhist Thought.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1992), p. 326.

23 Translated by Michael R. Saso, *Buddhist Studies in the People's Republic of China.* (Honolulu: Tendai Education Foundation, 1990-91), p.22.

24 Ibid., p. 22.

The Way of Chinese Buddhism was not only influenced by social and cultural phenomena, but also that Buddhist teaching had a profound influence Confucianism.[25] One of the reasons Buddhism could absorb and unify external cultural norms within Chinese culture was precisely because it was formulated by ethic Chinese, and because it included in its most influential members Chinese who had lived abroad and non-Han ethnic minorities. By the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, Buddhism had been a lively and vibrant element on China's feudal culture for nearly 1,000 years. For example, the Buddhist theory of Cause and Effect, of retribution for deeds, was widespread, and left a deep impact on both ordinary people and the middle classes. It must be given first and most important place amongst all religious concepts in China. From the Sung period (960 CE) until today, Chinese drama, song, fiction and novels, the works of China's literary giants all used the concept as a guiding compass, even to the extent of degrading it into the role of oppressing human livelihood.[26]

Moreover, Buddhism was influenced by the Taoism and Confucianism, and it became a uniquely Chinese Buddhism. Therefore, we know that Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism became like three legs of a tripod. The three religious teachings were established and regulated as a single (religious-cultural) ding (caldron alchemical or liturgical "vessel") which brought about a period of struggle and adjustment not settled until the Sui-T'ang period, when the collaborative aspect and function of the three religious was more clearly delineated. The T'ang Dynasty monk Zong-Yan stated: "Confucianism is for social ethics (social and family values), Taoism for the physical body, Buddhism for compassion for all creatures." He also wrote, "A tripod has three legs, using them equally is its perfection; just so, the three religious teachings must be equally

25 Ibid., p 23
26 Ibid., p. 33.

respected; only thus can blessing be attained."[27] Similarly, the Hsiao-Tzung (孝宗) Emperor of the Sung Dynasty (1163-1190 CE), in his *Yuan Dao Lun* (On the Primordial Tao) states: "Use Buddhism to perfect the heart, Taoism to nourish the body, and Confucianism to govern the world. Only then will all things go well." This theory of "equally following the three religions" was the subject of a variety of interpretations among officials, monks, people, and court, yet the Three Religions could not but form a single cultural system, form beginning to end the keynote for social discourse.[28] From the early Sung Dynasty the theory flourished. Under the tolerance it enjoined, many Ch'an schools developed and prospered.

According to the scholar, Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, during the Sung Dynasty the ordination monks increased until in 1221 there were 397,615 monks, 61,240 nuns, and 40,000 temples.[29] From these numbers, we can see that during the Sung Dynasty, Buddhism enjoyed a period of rapid development. During the T'ang Dynasty, the monasteries' land had been donated by imperial households, the nobility, and the great families.[30] During the Sung period, Ch'an monasteries became centers of social and political life, and understandably the quality of the training received by initiates degenerated. The popularity of such temples resulted in an increase in the number of monks residing in them, and with the increase in numbers, quality again suffered. In Ch'an, truth was transmitted from master to pupil and from mind to mind, but there were numbers who did not receive any such transmission.

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27 Ibid., p. 35.
28 Ibid., p. 35-36.
29 Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, p. 401.
30 Ibid., p.401.

Therefore, during the Sung period, the Sung Emperor, Shen-Tzung (神宗) ordered many of the "temples" known as *ssu* to be changed into "monasteries" called ch'an-yuan (禪院), for the use of the monks who followed the system of Bodhidharma.[31] The "temples," *ssu,* and "monasteries," yuan, were to receive the designations kuan (觀), palace (宮), and kuan, monastery, terms in use among Taoists.[32] This was to indicate both Buddhist and Taoist affiliation.

During the Southern Sung Dynasty, Buddhist monasteries were divided into three types of monasteries: (1) Ch'an cloisters, Ch'an-Yuan (禪院); (2) Teaching cloisters, Chiao-Yuan (教院); (3) Vinaya cloisters, Lu-Yuan (律院).[33] The following is a brief interpretation these three types of cloisters.

> "Ch'an cloisters are the empire's great monasteries, designated as 'leading monasteries and various mountains'. They have more than a thousand residents, and more than a hundred buildings. With storied pavilions arrayed from the front to rear and covered corridors running from east to west, their facilities are like those of an imperial residents. This arrangement is surely the one that was passed down by the Buddhas and ancestors in face-to-face oral transmission; that which should be built is built...."[34]

> "Teaching cloisters are places for T'ien-T'ai teachings and contemplation.... Even since the time of Hui-Wen, the founder of T'ien-T'ai school, the principle tenets held by all the Teachings cloisters in the land have been the T'ien-T'ai teachings. Hui-Wen applied the *Chung-kuan-lun's* (attributed to Nagarjuna) idea to learn the details of Nagarjuna's monastery regulations, or the uses to which various monastery buildings have rooms for practice of the sixteen contemplations, but that practice is based on the *Wu-liang-shou-ching* (無量壽經), a sutra whose authenticity is unproved and has been doubted by scholars past and present...."[35]

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31 D.D. Joseph Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism: Historical, Descriptive, and Critical.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, & Co., 1893), 142.

32 Ibid., p. 142.

33 Theodore Griffith Foulk, *The Ch'an School and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition.* (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1987), PhD. Dissertation, p. 62.

34 Ibid., p. 64.

35 Ibid., p. 63.

"Vinaya cloisters have flourished from the time of Nan-Shan Tao-Hsuan (596-667), 'founder' of the Nan-Shan school of Vinaya interpretation. Nan-Shan never went to the great lands of India and Central Asia; he only read fragments of materials brought to China. Even if he had heard reports on the arrangement of Indian monasteries form heavenly beings, how could this be compared to firsthand instructions from those who were truly knowledgeable? Thus many scholars and practitioners are dubious about the layout of the various halls and quarters that are lined up like so many scales on fish or teeth on a comb in what are now called Vinaya cloisters."[36]

From this passage we can see that Ch'an cloisters, Teachings cloisters, and Vinaya cloisters carried on different lineages. For instance, if a monastery was officially designated as a Ch'an cloister, this meant that the abbacy could only be filled by a qualified monk belonging to the Ch'an lineage. The abbacy of officially regulated Teaching cloisters was restricted to monks of the T'ien-Tai lineage, and the abbacy of Vinaya cloisters was reserved for monks belongs to the Nan-Shan Vinaya lineage.

During the T'ang Dynasty, Ch'an masters placed little or no emphasis on literature, but during the Sung period, the Chinese reverence for the written word reasserted itself, and there arose what is known as literary Ch'an. One evidence of this was the collection of *kung-an* (公案) or cases in writing, entitled *Pi-yen-lu* (碧巖錄) (*The Blue Cliff Record*), completed in 1125. Another was the compilation of various *Yu-lu* (語錄) (*Recorded Sayings*) of the Ch'an masters.[37] One may say that the inner development of Ch'an led in this direction. These records and Yu-lu provided a great idea of benefit for later generations and have inspired myriad disciples.

One of the interesting developments that arose during the Sung Dynasty was the tendency toward closer harmony among the existing Buddhist schools, with the Ch'an

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36 Ibid., p. 64.

37 D.D., Joseph Edkins, p. 403.

playing an active role in most of the attempts to find some common ground. This tendency was reflected in one of the popular slogans of the era, *Ch'an-chiao-i-chih* (禪教一致), harmonization of meditation and study of the sutras. For instance, some Ch'an masters began paying more attention to the *Avatamsaka-sutra* by explaining its teachings in their speeches and writings and accepting the totalistic doctrine of the Hua-yen School.[38] The Ch'an practitioners thought that kung-an (公案) and nien-fo (念佛) (chant the Amitaba's name) of Amitaba in Pure Land School should be practiced together. One of the Ch'an master, Yen-Shou (904-975), practiced and came to teach both schools.[39]

The Ch'an master Yen-Shou claimed that for the Ch'an School one of the main slogans was "this mind is the Buddha," while for the Pure Land School it was held that "this mind is the Buddha Amitaba, this mind is the Pure Land."[40] This is the idea that tended to draw the two schools closer together during and after the Southern Sung period.

After Southern Sung Dynasty, Ch'an was continued to flourish. The Ch'an and other schools were amalgamated harmoniously together, producing T'ien-Tai Ch'an, Hua-Yen Ch'an and Nien-Fo Ch'an, all of which were popular. Although Ch'an influenced and was influenced by the teachings of the other schools, still it was ultimately based on the original teachings of the Buddha. The Ch'an School kept its focus upon the spiritual view; for which it is called the Ch'an sect. The students of T'ien-Tai and Hua-Yen schools did attempt to practice Ch'an, just as Ch'an disciples studied the teachings of T'ien-Tai and Hua-yen; but, this did not change the thought of the Ch'an school at all. Greater influence came from Confucianism and Lao-Chuang's thought. In the main, however, Ch'an retained what is justifiably called a single tradition. This continuity was both doctrinal and

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38 Ibid., p. 404.

39 Ibid., p. 404.

40 Ibid., p. 405.

methodological--or perhaps one could say that the doctrine lay largely in the distinctive methods of Ch'an teaching, such as the shu-chuan (豎拳, raise a fist), pang-ho (棒喝, bang and bawl in rebuke of a student), shu-chi (豎指, raise the thumb), and others--for inspiring mind-to-mind transmission.[41]

After the end of T'ang Dynasty and Five Dynasty, much of Chinese Buddhism was destroyed by the government. Many Buddhist scriptures were burned, thus Buddhism in China gradually declined. It was only Ch'an school which kept its unique and emphasis on the Buddha-mind. After the Hui-Ch'ang (會昌) era (755) of Emperor Wu-Tzung (武宗), an era of persecution of the Dharma, the Ch'an School continued to spread its teaching and flourish. Since the central capital was now at Chang-An, Buddhism in the northern cities was largely destroyed altogether. But, in the central area of the country, Wu-Yueh (吳越), Buddhism developed and became very popular among ordinary people. In southern China, in Chiang-Nan (江南) and Shun-Yuh (山嶽) areas, Buddhism suffered much less destruction. During this period, according to the *Pure Rule of Pai-Chang*, Ch'an monastic monasteries did not accept financial support from noble official families. Ch'an monks lived a self-sufficient lifestyle to support themselves and the monastic Order. They went through the P'u-ch'ing (普請) strategy and "universal manual labor" of performance and effort in their daily life as well as their experience to attain their goal and inherit the Buddha's intuitive teaching.[42] After this time, although there continued to be T'ien-Tai, Hua-Yeh, and Vinaya schools, they no longer flourished; only the Ch'an school prospered.[43]

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41 Translated by Sheng-Yen Shih. 野上俊靜 著. *A Brief Chinese Buddhist History.* (Taipei: Taiwan Trade Press, 1972), p. 140.

42 Ibid., trans., Sheng-Yen Shih. p. 140.

43 Ibid., p. 140.

Another reason the Ch'an school continued to develop is that Ch'an monks were no longer in cities like Chang-An and Lao-Yang. They went away form the cities to live in mountains following the persecution of Buddhism. Thus there is a proverb to describe monks' life in the mountains: "All famous mountains were occupied mostly by monks."[44] Because they stayed in mountains, they needed methods for self-support. Therefore, P'u-ching (All invited) became one of their methods for monastic practice in daily life. P'u-ch'ing involves all members working in the field led by the Ch'an master. Under such a discipline the monastery was no longer vulnerable to imperial destruction.

III. The Lineage of the Ch'an School

The Ch'an School appeared in the seventh century as a unique blend of Chinese and Mahayana notions and practices. Starting from the basic idea that the highest Truth is inaccessible to speech and rational thought, it propagated a direct, intuitional approach to enlightenment without recourse to canonical texts or rational reflection. It held that all reasoning must be broken down, by means of exhausting meditation sessions, the use of bizarre themes for concentration, including paradoxes, and even deliberate forcible blows from the master. When the ultimate state of "no-mind" was been realized, not gradually but as a sudden explosion, all distinction between holy and profane was obliterated, so that "the Highest truth is contained in carrying water and chopping firewood." Ch'an Buddhism exerted an enormous influence, especially in intellectual circles. It has had a great impact on art and literature in China and Korea, where it persisted after the disappearance of most other schools, and even more in Japan, where it has flourished up to the present time.

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[44] Nun Huai-Chin 南懷瑾. p. 81.

In the second half of the T'ang dynasty, as the state was undermined by political turmoil and economic crisis, anticlericalism gained force. Buddhism was also losing ground intellectually, for the ninth century witnessed the beginning of a revival of Confucianism and, consequently, an increasing aversion to Buddhism as a basically un-Chinese creed.

In 845, the combined forces of economic considerations, Confucian anticlericalism, and the influence of Taoist masters at the court led to persecution of Buddhism on an unprecedented scale. More than 40,000 temples were destroyed, and 260,500 monks and nuns were forced to return to lay life. Later, the clergy was allowed to grow again, but its economic power had suffered a blow from which it never recovered.[45]

In studying Buddhism, it is very interesting to know what the historical Buddha actually taught his disciples. One Indian Buddhist text relates the following:

> A Brahman named Black-nails came to the Buddha and offered him two huge flowering tress which he carried, each in one of his hands, through his magical power. The Buddha called out, and when the Brahman responded, the Buddha said, 'Throw them down!' The Brahman let down the flowering tree in his left hand before the Buddha. The latter called out again to let them go, whereupon Black-nails dropped the flowering tree in the right hand. The Buddha still kept up his command . Said the Brahman: "I have nothing now to let go. What do you want me to do?' 'I never told you to abandon your flowering plants,' said the Buddha, "what I want you to do is to abandon your six objects of sense (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind), your six organs of sense (form, sound, smell, taste, touch, dharma-which means those objects that arise in the heart), and your six consciousness (sense awareness through the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind). When these are all at once abandoned and there remains nothing further to be abandoned, it is then that you are released from the bondage of birth-and-death.'[46] These are Buddha's words and Tathagata's words.

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[45] Editor in chief. Mircea Eliade. vol.2, *The Encyclopedia of Religion.* p. 419.

[46] D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1949), p. 174.

The parable conveys the essence of Ch'an. To put it in more contemporary terms, one's mind is like a computer's hard disk. The more one has stored up, the more burden one has. Therefore, sentient beings suffer so much because they do not know how to learn to put things down or let them go. The point is that the more things one has, the more there is to worry about. A practitioner should learn that the less things he or she has, the more he or she is free.

The Buddha's teachings were impressive because of their simplicity and directness. Anyone could understand and practice them. In the same way, we can see that the Ch'an master Chao-Chou (778-897) [47] is direct and concise and disposes matters in a most unequivocal if paradoxical manner. For example, a monk came and asked the master, "How is it when a man brings nothing with him?" "Throw it away!" was Chao-Chou's immediate response. "What shall he throw down when he is not burdened at all?" "If so, carry it along!"[48] The Ch'an masters delight in paradoxes, and Chao-Chou's remark here is a typical example. The Ch'an master points directly into the disciple's mind.

The ultimate emancipation is found through inquiring, "Who or what is the Buddha?" When this is mastered, Buddhism has rendered its full service. Here is another example of Ch'an teaching which is both beautiful and illuminating. What follows is the Ch'an way of treating the subject: A monk came to Ch'i-an, who was one of the disciples of Ma-Tsu, and asked, "What is the original body of Vairochana?" Said the master, "Would you mind passing that water-pitcher over to me?" The monk handed it to the

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[47] Chao-Chou (778-897) was one of the early masters of Ch'an in the T'ang dynasty when it began to flourish with its vigorous freshness. He attained the high age of one hundred and twenty. His sermons were always short and to the point, and his answers were noted for being natural and impressive for disciples, but hard to understand.

[48] D. T. Suzuki, p. 175.

master as he asked. Then the master requested him to put it back where he got it. The monk did so. But not getting any answer, as he thought, to his first question, he asked again, "What is the original body of Vairochana Buddha?" The master expressed his regret, saying, "Long it is since the departure of the old Buddha!" [49] These two instances will suffice to illustrate that the Chinese Ch'an mind, although different in its form of expression from the Indian, ultimately seeks to describe the same reality.

A. The Origin of Ch'an School

The history of Ch'an begins with the coming of Bodhidharma to China from the west (i.e., India) in roughly 520 CE. He came to China with a special message which is summed up in the following lines:

> 'A special transmission outside the scriptures;
> No dependence upon words and letters;
> Direct pointing at the soul of man;
> Seeing into one's nature and the attainment of Buddhahood.' [50]

These four lines, which describe the principles of Ch'an teaching as distinguished from other schools of Buddhism already in existence in China, were formulated later and not by Bodhidharma himself.

Our knowledge of the life of Bodhidharma comes from two sources. One early account is given by Tao-Hsüuan (道宣) in his Hsü Kao-Sêng Chuan (續高僧傳), *Continuation of the Biographies of the Eminent Buddhist Monks*), which was compiled early in the T'ang Dynasty, 645 CE. The author was the founder of a Vinaya sect in China and a learned scholar, who, however, was living before the movement of the new school

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49 Ibid., p. 175.
50 D. T. Suzuki, Ibid., p. 176.

to become known as Ch'an came into maturity under Hui-Neng, the sixth patriarch. The other source is *the Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*, 1004 CE, compiled by Tao-Yuan (道原) early in the Sung Dynasty. This was written by a Ch'an monk after Ch'an had received full recognition as a special branch of Buddhism.

When Bodhidharma arrived in China, he observed the level of spiritual maturity, and based on that observation, decided he should use the *Lankavatara Sutra, Vajrasamadhi Sutra, and Vajracchedika Sutra* to teach in this land. Therefore, in China at the beginning of development of Ch'an, these are the sutras which were emphasized. Ch'an, unlike other schools of Buddhism, has no particular need to refer to the so-called "foundation canon" on which its followers would base the principal tenets of their schools. Nevertheless Bodhidharma recommended the *Lankavatara Sutra* to his first disciple Hui-K'o (慧可, 486-593 CE), who was absolutely convinced of Bodhidharma's importance and determined to win the Indian monks' respect. In order to prove his sincerity and receive the teaching, Hui-K'o stood near where Bodhidharma was meditating and waited for many hours in earnest supplication. Snow began to fall from the cold winter sky, but Hui-K'o was undaunted. Over the course of the evening the snow accumulated up to Hui-K'o's knees, but when Bodhidharma finally noticed him and discovered why he was waiting there, the Indian sage only warned him about the difficulty of practicing the "unsurpassable, wondrous path of the Buddha." The contents of this teaching are most intimately related to Ch'an. After Bodhidharma was the first patriarch of Ch'an in China. He preached his doctrine in the kingdom of Wei, [51] according to D.T. Suzuki.

One day Hui-K'o asked Bodhidharma: "Can I know the seal of Buddha-truth?" Bodhidharma answered: "Man cannot obtain the seal of Buddha-truth." Hui-K'o said:

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[51] D. T. Suzuki, Ibid., p. 179.

"My mind has no peace and I pray to your reverence, to have my mind pacified." Bodhidharma said: "Where is your mind? Bring it out before me, and I shall have it pacified."[52] Bodhidharma's answer pointed to a recurrent Ch'an teaching, that an ordinary mind is never purified and peaceful. Our minds are impermanent, thinking this and then that each moment.

Many disciples followed Bodhidharma and entered upon the Ch'an Buddhist path. The disciples asked their questions in order to be enlightened, and observed his directions well. The Teacher of Law was moved by their spirit of sincerity and disciplined them in the true path, telling them, "This is way to obtain peace of mind," "This is the way to behave in the word," "This is the upaya (means)." These being harmonious ways to keep the mind tranquil, one has to be on guard against their wrongful application. This is the way to train one's mind and enter enlightenment. There are two ways to enter the Path. One is the "entrance by reason" and the other the "entrance by conduct". The entrance by reason is:

> "...the realization of the spirit of Buddhism by the aid of the scriptural teaching. We then come to have a deep faith in the True Nature which is one and the same in all sentient beings. The reason why it does not manifest itself is due to the overwrapping of external objects and false thoughts. When one, abandoning the false and embracing the true, and in simpleness of thought abides in Pi-kuan (壁觀), one finds that there is neither selfhood nor otherness, that the masses and the worthies are of one essence, and firmly holds on to this belief and never moves away therefrom. He will not then be guided by any literary instructions, for he is in silent communion with the principles itself, free from conceptual discrimination, for he is serene and not-acting. This is called "Entrance by Reason."[53]

By "entrance by conduct" is meant the "four practices" in which all other acts are included. They are:

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[52] Hsiang-Kuang Chou, *Dhyana Buddhism in China:Its History and Teaching*. (India: Indo-Chinese Literature Prublications, 1960), p. 22.

[53] Ibid., p. 180-181.

(1) the practice of the retribution of enmity,
(2) the practice of the acceptance of circumstances,
(3) the practice of the absence of craving,
(4) the practice of accordance with the Dharma.[54]

What is the practice of the retribution of enmity? When a Buddhist practitioner experiences suffering, he should think to himself: "For innumerable eons I have wandered through the various states of existence, forsaking the fundamental (*pen*) for the derivative (*mo*), generating (in myself) a great deal of enmity and distaste, in myself and bringing an unlimited amount of injury and discord upon others. Although I have not committed any offense in this lifetime, the present suffering is the fruition of crimes and bad karma from my past lifetimes, rather than given by any deity or human being. I shall accept it patiently and contentedly, without any enmity or complaint." The sutra says: "Boddhisatva or the sage does not feel sad for the experience of suffering. Why? Because [he] understands the fundamental [nature of things]. The mind arises [corresponding to the circumstance] and it acts in accord with the Principle [of nature], making progress upon the path through the experience of the past enmity. Therefore, this is called the practice of retribution of enmity".[55]

The second practice is the acceptance of circumstance. Sentient beings have no-Self (wu-wo, anatman) and are manipulated by their conditioned karma. Both experiences of suffering and pleasure are generated from one's circumstances. If one experiences superior (karmic) retributions such as fame, fortune, and so forth, one should realize that this is the result of past causes. Although one may experience such good fortune now, when the conditions of good karma are exhausted, it will disappear. How could one take

[54] John R McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 103.
[55] Yin-Shun. *The History of Chinese Ch'an School*. p. 9.

joy in (good fortune)? Following the circumstances of success and failure, the mind remains unchanged. It is unmoved by the winds of good fortune, and compliant with the Path. Therefore, this is called the practice of the acceptance of circumstances.[56]

The third practice is the absence of craving. With neverending ignorance, people have developed various kinds of covetousness and attachment that are referred to as craving. The wise man has realized the Truth, the essential principle of which is contrary to human convention. He pacifies his mind and acts without defilement by following the transformation of his circumstances. This practice requires the understanding that all existence is nonsubstantial. The person who understands does not seek anything. The two sisters of good and bad fortune named Merit and Darkness always travel together. The triple world is like a burning house: suffering is an inescapable fact of corporeal existence, with which no one could possibly be at peace. One who understands this will cease all thinking and craving for various states of existence. The sutra says: "To have craving entails suffering; having no craving is the state of true joy. Understand clearly that having no craving is the true practice of the Path." [57]

The fourth practice is accordance with the Dharma. The principle of pure nature (性淨之理, hsing-ching chih li) is called Dharma. According to this principle, all characteristics are nonsubstantial and there is no defilement and no attachment, no distinction between "this" and "that." The Vimalakirti Sutra says: "There are no sentient beings in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilement of 'sentient beings.' There is no Self in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilements of Self." If the wise man can accept and understand this principle, he should practice in accordance with the Dharma.[58]

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[56] Ibid., p.10.
[57] Yin-Shun. p.10.
[58] Ibid., p.10.

Since there is no parsimony in the Dharma, one should practice the perfection of charity, by giving his body, life, and wealth, without any regret in his mind, while thoroughly understanding the emptiness of three components [i.e., recipient, donor, and gift] without attachment, merely for the sake of ridding of his own defilements. Converting sentient beings without grasping at marks is the way to benefit himself as well as others, also be able to ornament the path of Bodi. The Perfection of Charity is to be undertaken as above; the other (five) perfections will be done in the same way. To eradicate wrong thoughts, one practices the six perfections without attachment to any practice; this is the practice of accordance with the Dharma.

The traditional, semi-mythical account of the life of Bodhidharma is the most inspired and meaningful source for the entire body of Ch'an legends. According to legend, Bodhidharma was originally a South Indian prince who arrived in China as a 150-year-old man during the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang (r. 502-549). Emperor Wu was one of the most famous imperial supporters of Buddhism in all of Chinese history, a ruler who sponsored the construction of numerous temples and images, personally studied Buddhist scriptures, and scrupulously observed Buddhist religious injunctions. When Emperor Wu asked Bodhidharma about those activities, Bodhidharma emphatically denied their value. The encounter took place in the following manner:

The emperor Wu of Liang asked Bodhidharma: "Ever since the beginning of my reign I have built so many temples, copied so many sacred books, and supported so many monks and nuns; what do you think my merit might be?"

"No merit whatever, sire!" Bodhidharma bluntly replied.
"Why?" demanded the Emperor astonished.
"All these are inferior deeds," thus began Bodhidharma's significant reply, "which would cause their author to be born in the heavens or on this earth again. They still show the traces of worldliness, they are like shadows following objects.

Though they appear actually existing, they are no more than mere non-entities. As to a true meritorious, and its real nature is beyond the grasp of human intelligence. Such as this not to be sought after by any worldly achievement."

The Emperor Wu thereupon asked Bodhidharma again, "What is the first principle of the holy doctrine?"

"Vast emptiness, and there is nothing in it to be called holy, sire!" answered Bodhidharma.

"Who is it then that is now confronting me?'

"I know not, sire!"

The answer was simple enough, and clear enough too, but the pious and learned Buddhist Emperor failed to grasp the spirit pervading the whole attitude of Bodhidharma. Seeing that there was no further help to be given to the Emperor after their confrontation, Bodhidharma left and traveled north to live in a cave at Shao-lin-ssu on Mount Sung near Lo-yang. There he sat quietly practicing the "wall-contemplation" *pi-kuan (壁觀)*, which the *Rightful Transmission of the Sakya Doctrine* interprets as meaning the state of mind where no "external dusts get in."[59] It is said that Bodhidharma continued this practice for nine long years, until he came to be known as the *Pi-kuan* Brahman.[60] The Ch'an-Fa (dharma) of Bodhidharma is specifically this practice. He did not emphasize a concrete and detailed method, but Bodhidharma is the founder of the practice of Pi-kuan, which became the "signature" of the Ch'an school. On the surface, it looks like a concrete practical skill, but Pi-kuan is not really contemplation of a wall; rather, it is contemplation of the mind while facing a wall. Its meaning is to look closely at something; the aim is to concentrate the spirit, to observe the emptiness of the object, in this case the mind.[61]

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[59] Ibid., p.186.

[60] Ibid., p. 188-189. *Pi-kuan (壁觀)* means 'wall-gazing' and is a kind of Mahayana wall-contemplation to train one's mind in calmness.

[61] Ju-Chiun Wu, *The Ch'an of Dharma.* Nei-Ming Magazine, 1984, Neverber, #152, P. 14.

One day, Hui-K'o visited Bodhidharma to ask him to transmit the dharma. Bodhidharma said, "What do you wish me to do for you?" Hui-K'o said, "I am come to receive your invaluable instructions; pray open your gate of mercy, and extend your hand of salvation to this poor suffering mortal." "The incomparable doctrine of Buddhism," replied Bodhidharma, "can be comprehended only after a long hard discipline and by enduring what is most difficult to endure, and by practicing what is most difficult to practice. Men of inferior virtue and wisdom are not allowed to understand anything about it. All the labors of such ones will come to naught."[62] Hui-K'o at last cut off his arm with the sword he was carrying, and presented it before the teacher as a token of his sincerity in the desire to be instructed in the doctrine of all the Buddha's. Bodhidharma said, "This is not to be sought through another." "My soul is not yet pacified. Pray, master, pacify it." "Ring your soul here, and I will have it pacified."

Hui-K'o hesitated for a moment but finally said, "have sought it these many years and an still unable to get hold of it!" "Here! It is pacified once for all." This was Bodhidharma's reply.

Bodhidharma then told him to change his name into Hui-K'o. Nine years passed, and Bodhidharma wished to return to his native country. He called in all his disciples before him, and said: "The time is come for me to depart, and I want to see what your attainments are."

"According to my view, said Tao-Fu, "the truth is above affirmation and negation, for this is the way it moves." Bodhidharma said, "You have got my skin."

Next came in the nun, Tzung-Ch'ih, and said, "As I understand it, it is like Ananda's viewing the Buddha land of Akshobhya: it is seen once and never again." Bodhidharma said, "You have got my flesh."

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62 Ibid., p. 190.

Tao-Yu was another disciple who presented his view, saying: "Empty are the four elements and non-existent the five skandhas (aggregates). According to my view, there is not a thing to be grasped as real."

Bodhidharma said, "You have got my bone."

Finally, Hui-K'o--that is Shen-Kuang--reverently bowing to the master, kept standing in his seat and said nothing. Bodhidharma said, "You have my marrow." [63]

The teaching of Bodhidharma was extremely interesting and full of amazing flourishes. He accorded with the virtue-root of his disciples to give each them the Dharma training they needed. Although we do not know how he passed away, according to Tao-Hsuan's record he was quite old, over one hundred and fifty years, at his death. His teaching has inspired numerous people through more than a thousand years and continues even today. Everyone who practices the Dharma, especially Ch'an practitioners, knows his name and follows his teaching.

After Bodhidharma's death, his disciple, Hui-K'o became the chief exponent of Ch'an Buddhism. He was already a learned scholar before he came to his teacher for instruction, not only in the Chinese classics but in Buddhist lore. Under Bodhidharma he became enlightened and had his understanding verified, but he did not begin preaching immediately after he left his teacher. Later, when the proper conditions had arisen together, he began teaching. Not long after, at the age of one hundred and seven years old, he died.

After the first patriarch, Bodhidharma, and the Second Patriarch, Hui-K'o, Ch'an Buddhism was passed on to the Third Patriarch, Seng-Ts'an, the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-Hsin, the Fifth Patriarch, Hung-Jen, and the Sixth patriarch, Hui-Neng. After Hui-Neng,

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[63] D. T. Suzuki, Ibid., p. 190-191.

the Ch'an school developed into two branches, the northern and the southern Ch'an schools.

B. The Southern Ch'an School of Hui-Neng

The Dharma of Ch'an gradually changed to meet the needs of new conditions in Chinese history. What is Buddha-Dharma-Ch'an? In Ch'an teaching many examples have been given, for instance: There was one person who was walking out in the country, and he discovered an "old path." He followed the old path, and discovered an abandoned city which held the palace of an old kingdom; therefore, he came back and advised the king to move the center of the kingdom to the old palace. The king did this, and the kingdom was filled with wealth and happy citizens.[64] The story indicates that Buddha-Dharma is self-awakening through observing the actual facts of one's experience. The Buddha and the Patriarchs discovered, experienced, realized, and attained the liberation of Nirvana, which was always there waiting to be found, just like the city. By following the ancient path, we too can find our way to that place of enlightenment.

In order to benefit all sentient beings, the Buddha employed skillful means to cultivate beings so that they, too could attain liberation. Of the Buddha's self-awakening, it is said that no knowledge or words can describe or convey his enlightenment. It is just as if one discovered the palace of an old kingdom. How can one truly describe it to others even though they believe you? The description can never be equal to the understanding of someone who sees it with his own eyes. Therefore, to learn the truth of the old kingdom's palace, one should go by himself. Buddha-Dharma needs to be discovered and approved through one's own practice.

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[64] Yin-Shun. *The History of Chinese Ch'an School*. (Reprinted, Taipei: Right Hearning Press, 1983), p. 6-7.

From Bodhidharma through the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-Hsin (道信), Ch'an Buddhism gradually developed and spread. Through the preaching and teaching of Tao-Hsin, Hung-Jen, and Hui-Neng, Ch'an entered the Chinese Buddhist mainstream. These teachers possessed skillful means of preaching the Dharma. However, the Ch'an School flourished even more in later transmissions. It divided into the Southern School and Northern School and then later into the Ox-Head School and Tong-Sun School. Coming from India by way of Bodhidharma, and from him reaching to Hui-Neng--the entire movement was an expression of Thatagata Ch'an. After Hui-Neng, Ch'an developed a new face, developing at Chiang-Nan (江南) what was to become a Ching-Ch'an (靜禪).

The founder of the Southern Ch'an School, Hui-Neng, emphasized sudden (*tun*) enlightenment. As the story is told in the *Platform Sutra,* Hui-Neng was an illiterate, but when he heard the Diamond Sutra recited, he was awakened. When he met his master Hun-Jen, he replied to his master: "Human beings can be divided into southerners and northerners, but the Buddha nature cannot." Although he was an illiterate, Hui-Neng possessed a sharp mind and an able wit. He and his disciples were respected the scriptures very much. He applied the essence of *Diamond Sutra,* the *Lankavatara Sutra, the Contemplation on Amitayus Sutra, the Lotus Sutra, the Mahaparinirvana Sutra,* and *the Brahmajala Sutra* to spreading Ch'an's teaching in the Chiang-Nan areas. According to Chinese Buddhist sources, although Hui-Neng was an illiterate, he lived in the Ch'an-T'ang for many years, was familiar with the kung-an teaching method, and understood the Diamond and Lotus Sutras' main ideas. However, nowadays, Yin-Shun says, "With the explosion of knowledge, yet alienation [arises] from that kind of environment: people bury themselves in the written material and think therein is the Dharma. There is no wonder why people can not understand it."[65]

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[65] Yin-Shun. *The Hisotry of Chinese Ch'an School.* Ibid., p. 192.

A Distinctive Ch'an Style of Meditation: No-thought Practice

Hui-Neng's commentary on the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liu-tsu t'an-ching*, 六祖壇經) provides a striking example of Ch'an reactions to Indian conntemplative techniques. In Indian Buddhism, *samadhi* and *prajna* are considered as components of spiritual cultivation leading from morality (*sila*) to concentration, and finally to wisdom. The *Platform Sutra* reinterprets *samadhi* and *prajna* as states of mind present in all moments of thought instead of states of practice. The *Sutra* claims that "the mind-ground that is without distraction is the *samadhi* of the Self-nature. The mind-ground that is without ignorance is the *prajna* of Self-nature."[66] The commentary continues:

> It is absolutely essential that you do not deludedly claim that *prajna* and *samadhi* are different. *Samadhi* and *prajna* are one in their essence, not two. It is precisely *samadhi* that is the essence of *prajna*; it is precisely *prajna* that is the functioning of *samadhi*. Whenever there is *prajna*, *samadhi* is present within that *prajna*; whenever there is *samadhi*, *prajna* is present within that *samadhi*. The meaning here is just that *samadhi* and *prajna* are equivalent.[67]

After eliminating the difference of *samadhi* and *prajna*, the Sutra advocates the practice of no-thought (*wu-nien*, 無念) or no-mind (*wu-hsin*, 無心):

> To be untainted in regard to all sense-objects is called no-thought. If you constantly keep your own thoughts free from all sense-objects, then the mind will not arise concerning those sense-objects. If you don't cogitate (*ssu*, 思) on the hundred things, thoughts (*nien*, 念) will be exhausted and cast aside. [But if] one thought is cut off, then you will die and be reborn in another realm.[68]

66 *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*, *T* 48.342b26-17; cf. Phillip Yampolsky, trans., *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.164.

67 *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*, *T* 48.338b6-12; cf. Philip Yampolsky, trans., *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) p. 135.

68 *T* 48.338c11-14. Cf. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p.332.

The *Platform Sutra* defines the term "no-thought" in this way: "No-thought is not to think when involved in thought." The goal of no-thought is: "Thought after thought fails to abide (念念不住).... Thought succeeds thought without interruption (念念相續)....On the continuation of thoughts, one should not abide in any dharma (thought). If one thought abides (is attached to), every thought will abide (be attached to). This is termed 'bondage.' If one does not attach to any dharma in any moment of thought, he is then free from bondage."[69] The *Platform Sutra* articulates a clear difference between a deluded and an awakened mind:

> The deluded man attaches to the characteristics of Dharmas. He attaches to one-practice *samadhi*, which is regarded as sitting without moving and casting aside delusion without activating his mind. If this is right, this kind of practice is the same as insentience and the cause of an obstruction of the path. The path must be something that circulates freely; why should it be impeded?[70]

Based on the above statement, the following may be deduced: "No-thought...means non-dualism, not distinguishing between "wrong" thoughts, which should be suppressed, and "right" thoughts, which should be encouraged. It instead allows the mind to flow freely, without any of the obstructions or value judgments that would impede the Tao."[71] In other words, one should allow the mind to flow freely without clinging to any of the obstructions or making any value judgment, which will impede the path. If such an interpretation is correct, the doctrine in the *Platform Sutra* apparently contradicts the Buddha Shakyamuni's ethical rules, which Buddha himself followed. If no-thought were applied in daily life and performed thoroughly, monastic rules and ethical codes would have utterly failed. Although the *Platform Sutra* provided a striking idea of cultivation, it also caused a great deal of damage to the Buddhist ethical system.

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69 *Liu-tsu t'an-ching T* 48.338c 5-11.

70 T 48, p. 338. trans., Po-Yao T'ien.

71 Edited by Peter N. Gregory, *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p. 332.

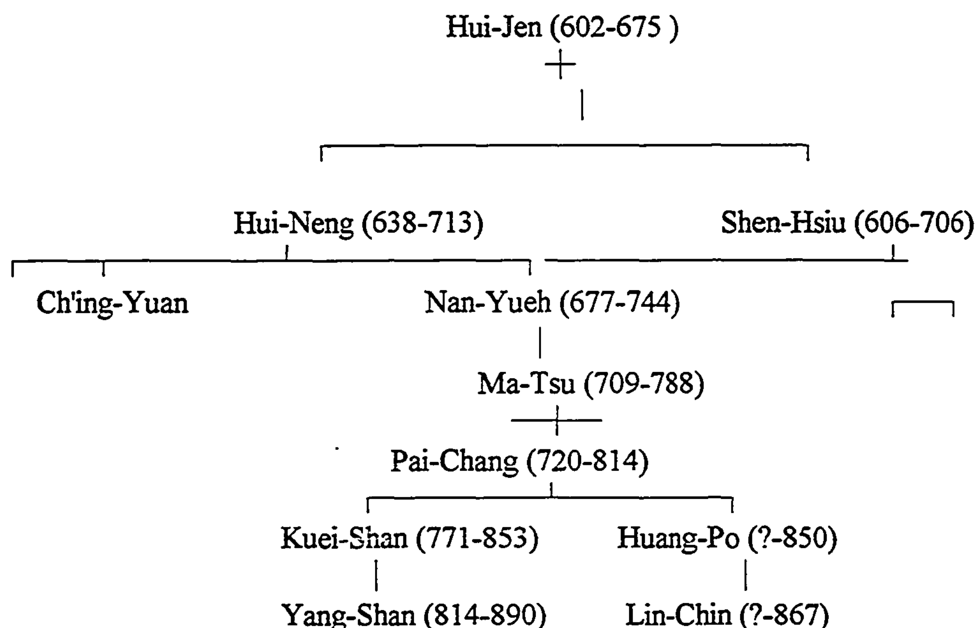
Hui-Neng's original teaching was no-mind or no-thought. But how, as human beings and Ch'an practitioners, can we have no-thought or no-mind? Hui-Neng's meaning forms a direct insight into Buddhist soteriological development. For the southern Ch'an school, no-mind is the simple, direct sight of one's Buddha-nature. Such sight is called sudden enlightenment because Hui-Neng claims that everyone possesses Buddha-nature and everyone can attain Buddhahood, without any need for gradual or progressive development.[72] He means the mind should not dwell on sensory experiences, and thereby become entranced and come to abide in them. The "sudden" teaching may be construed to suggest that enticement in sensory experiences forms a pinching or a constricting of the mind so as to conceal the true nature of the mind, that the mind's occupation with sensory experience, the mind's becoming attached to particular thoughts, forms a repression of the mind. The southern Ch'an advocated "directly pointing to the human mind, to see its nature and attain Buddhahood"[73] Therefore, they considered themselves more qualified than the northern Ch'an School to be called sudden (subitaneous). Ultimately, both schools agreed that all the Dharmas are neither sudden nor gradual, but in fact people have sharp and dull minds. Both schools agreed that one who is unawakened follows a gradual path. One who is awakened enters the sudden stage.[74]

After the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-Neng, the most influential teachers in the development of Ch'an thought were Nan-Yueh (677-744), Ma-Tsu (709-788), Pai-Chang (720-814), Kei-Shan (771-853), Yang-Shan (814-890), Huang-Po (?-850), and Lin-Chin (?867). The branch of Ch'an will be discussed in Chapter 6, but others like Ch'ing-Yuan

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72 Yin-Shun. *The History of Chinese Ch'an School.* p. 314.
73 Ibid., p. 314.
74 Ibid., p. 315.

Hsing-Ssu (660-740) will be not discussed in Chapter 6.[75] The Chan lineage from Hui-Neng may be summarized as follows (also see table 1):



(see TABLE Y)

It is clear from this chart that Pai-Chang's lineage developed into two important lineages, the Kuei-Shang sect and the Lin-Chi sect. In addition to these two lineages are another lineages called the T'so-Tong sect, the Yun-Mon sect, and the Fa-Yen sect. These together comprised what came to be known as the Five Houses of Chinese Ch'an.[76] During the Sung Dynasty, the Lin-Chi Sect was invited into the Huang-Lang (黃龍) and

[75] Bor-Ssu Chu 褚伯思, *The History of Chinese Ch'an Conversation.* (Taipei: Fo-kao Publishing, 1974). p.118.

[76] Hajime Nakamura 中村 元, *Historical Chinese Buddhist Development.* (Taipei: T'ien-Wan Publishing, 1984), 3 vol. p. 336-337.

the Yang-Chih (楊岐), forming two sects, so that the previous five houses combined with these two sects to be called five houses and seven sects.[77] All these schools and sects formed Chinese Ch'an's mainstream. They were also the center of Chinese Buddhism as a whole during the Sung Dynasty.

C. The Northern Ch'an School of Shen-Hsiu

Shen-Hsiu (606-706) founded the Northern Ch'an school, which emphasized gradual (*chien*) enlightenment. Ch'an history thus called the Northern Ch'an school of Shen-Hsiu the gradualist school. What is meant by gradualism? Shen-Hsiu employed two methods to achieve awakening. The first method was known as the five expedient means,[78] a technique of discernment using five Buddhist scriptures. The second method was the contemplation of the mind, related to the Northern Ch'an technique of maintaining awareness of mind. This stage was associated with seated meditation and with mental concentration exercises. In mastering this technique, the practitioners achieved a state in which both mind and body were undisturbed by all those things in the world which ordinarily cause us to lose our balance and mental equilibrium and which impair sight of the interconnected unity of reality. The goal was to achieve a mind which can remain balanced and undisturbed.

The method of the Five Expedient Means constituted the major teachings of Shen-Hsiu. The Five Expedient Means were:

(1) Treatise on Clear Contemplation of Mind

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77 Ibid., p.336.

78 T 85, p. 1291-1293.

(2) Verse in Praise of Ch'an
(3) The Unborn Upaya of the Mahayana
(4) Five Upaya of the Mahayana: Northern Tradition
(5) Treatise by the Northern Line of the Mahayana[79]

These texts were not written by Shen-hsiu, but were recorded, expanded and written by his disciples according to his main ideas[80]--as the *Leng-chieh-shih-tzu-chi* (楞伽師資記) says: "Shen-Hsiu does not have any publication."[81]

The first upaya is the "Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood" or "Freedom from thinking." The *Awakening of Faith* explains that to awaken is to become a Buddha, and being a Buddha is to experience "mind-only" or "consciousness-only" as undisturbed, so that the mind itself, which is free thinking, is revealed. To be free from thinking is to attain the state of clear awareness where sensory input is not divided into subject and object, or self and other, in the midst of mental activity. The *Verses in Praise of Ch'an* claims:

> The eyes see, the mind is aware, knows thoughts that arise, and numerous concepts are born: there are divisions and barricades, and one does not understand. This is the defiled realm of dharmas, the realm of the human beings. If the eyes see, the mind is aware, and one is free from thinking, then there are no barriers and divisions, and this is the pure realm of dharmas; it is the realm of Buddhas.[82]

This statement implies that a practitioner does not divide the world into subject and object. If one does so, dualism creates barriers and divisions. The text states clearly that one does not eliminate one's own mental awareness to attain a true non-dualistic

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79 T 85, P. 1290.

80 Yin-Shun. *The History of Chinese Ch'an School*. p. 138.

81 Ibid., p. 138.

82 T 85, p. 1291-1293. trans., Po-Yao T'ien. *A mondern Buddhist Monk-Reformation in China: The Life and Thought of Yin-Shun*. PhD. Dissertation, (California: CIIS, 1995), p. 205.

situation. Rather one becomes free from thinking while keeping active in the midst of worldly affairs.

The second upaya, "Opening the Gateway to Wisdom", is inspired by a brief quotation from the *Lotus Sutra*. The third upaya is related to the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* and is named "Revealing the Inconceivable Liberation." The fourth upaya, entitled "Revealing the True Nature of All Dharmas," is based upon a long quotation from *Visesacint-brahman-pariprеccha Sutra*. The fifth upaya, "Comprehending That There is No Difference," is from *Avatamsaka Sutra.* Of these five upaya, the first upaya deals with essence of a thing, and the second upaya deals with its functions. The last three upayas are related only to the degrees of realization. The Northern Ch'an of Shen-Hsiu applies the idea of five upayas to lead to the experience of awakening.

Alongside the five upayas is "meditation," which was of major importance in Shen-Hsiu's teaching. Shen-Hsiu calls this meditation the contemplation of the mind. He regards human beings' six paths of rebirth and three realms of abiding ultimately to be a manifestation of the mind. How shall one enter the realm of contemplation of mind? Shen-Hsiu's reply:

> One knows that all good karma arises due to one's own mind. Simply be able to control the mind and you will be free from falsehood and evil. The karma causing rebirth in the three realms and the six paths of rebirth will naturally cease and become extinguished. To be able to extinguish all duhkha (suffering) is liberation.[83]

In sum, Shen-Hsiu's Northern Ch'an used two methods in its strategy for awakening. The first was discussed in the context of intellectual penetration, but this expression was not intended to imply that the texts were not applied in the context of

83 T 85, p. 1271. Ibid., trans., Po-Yao T'ien. p. 206.

meditation as well. This method was called the method of the five upayas, because several Northern Ch'an manuscripts are divisible into five sections, each based upon a different Mahayana text. The text states that if one studies these upayas, one could achieve Buddhahood.[84]

The contemplation of the mind is used in the second method by the Northern tradition of Ch'an. The Northern Ch'an writings on the contemplation of the mind enjoin maintaining awareness of mind, guarding the mind, and beholding purity. These practices are associated with the cross-legged meditation posture, but the texts clearly state that contemplation is not to be misunderstood as an introspective practice which shuts off the external world. Rather, contemplative exercises are directed outward in an attempt to generate a state of non-dichotomizing awareness of the world.

The study of the five upayas and contemplation of the mind are ultimately the same method, each from a different point of view. Shen-Hsiu' teaching method in the *Treatise on Clear Contemplation of Mind* underscores this unity:

> Simply...[to] control the mind for inner illumination is to realize contemplation for outer clarity. You will then be cut off from the three poisons, which will be destroyed forever. Close up the six thieves, which will not be allowed to cause disturbances, and of their own accord, merit as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges will accumulate. You will transcend the ordinary and achieve the level of sagehood. It will be right before your eyes and not far off in the distance. Enlightenment takes place in a moment.[85]

IV. Conclusion

84 John R McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 218-230.

85 T 48, p. 369. Ibid., trans., T'ien Po-Yao. p. 208.

During T'ang Dynasty, the Ch'an monasteries were well developed, set up for teaching, cultivating, preaching, solving the problems of disciple's mind. Ch'an monasteries served as the Ch'an School's organization for teaching, practicing, cultivating and training practitioners who voluntarily gathered together, living in one place, studying and practicing the Dharma. Ch'an monasteries were given different names according to different periods and particular monasteries. Monasteries was governed by the center government. The main three principles--Shang-Tso (上座), Ssu-Chu (寺主), and Wei-Na (維那) formed the basis of the major departments of the monastery which handled administrative tasks, the heads of those department appointed by the emperor directly. During the T'ang period, monastic finance flourished. Because monasteries' land holdings were large, monasteries accumulated surplus capital sufficient to operate different kinds of businesses. Monasteries also provided social welfare projects such as hospitals. The central government established monasteries in local areas across the country, and these monasteries contributed to economic stability throughout the country.

During the T'ang period, the Ch'an School developed into two branches, the Northern Ch'an School of Shen-Hsiu and the Southern Ch'an School of Hui-Neng. Sheng-Hsiu's Ch'an was called gradualism, and Hui-Neng's Ch'an suddenism.

During the Sung Dynasty, monasteries were clearly distinguished between Taoist and Buddhist. Three types of Buddhist monasteries developed: 1) Ch'an cloisters (ch'an-yuan); 2) Teachings cloisters (chiao-yuan); 3) Vinaya cloisters (lu-yuan). Additionally, monasteries prospered enough to enable the government to establish the "scripture translation schools," reviving the T'ang Dynasty's translation projects and cultivating intellectual monks.

After Pai-Chang established the Ch'ing-kuei, Ch'an monasteries lived a self-supporting lifestyle. The monks seldom went out for begging. The Ch'ing-Kuei combined both Sila and Vinaya, reformed and adapted to Chinese society.

During the Sung Dynasty, Buddhism was influenced by the Taoism and Confucianism, and it became an uniquely Chinese Buddhism. A popular saying likened the three religions to three legs of a caldron. Buddhism was widely popular among the social elite and the intelligentsia. Men of the gentry lived in Ch'an monasteries in order to practice and learning Ch'an. The scholar Timothy James Brook cites the gentry's nationwide patronage of Buddhist monasteries in China: "Many men of the gentry became increasingly sympathetic to Buddhism, and this made the monastery available to them as an object of patronage."[86] In general, during both the T'ang and Sung periods, the Ch'an monastery developed harmoniously and peacefully, so that monks and monasteries increased and won the favor of the imperial household and the nobility, which patronized and supported monasteries.

Bodhidharma originally brought Ch'an into China, but the Emperor Liang Wu, despite his desire, could not understand the teaching of mind to mind transmission. Bodhidharma left and went to *Pi-kuang*. Emperor Liang Wu followed, but when he found Bodhidharma it was too late: Bodhidharma thought the emperor was not a person who could be cultivated.

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86 Timothy James Brook, *Gentry Dominance in Chinese Society: Monasteries and Lineages in the Structuring of Local Society, 1500-1700.* (Cambridge, Harvard University, 1984). PhD. Dissertation, p. 1.

Theories based on sudden and gradual enlightenment came to distinguish the different Ch'an schools. Sudden enlightenment was the direct, sharp awakening to the dharma. Gradualism involved step by step cultivation through many upayas. However, both approaches held that the oneness of Samadhi and Prajna is sudden. The Southern School of Hui-Neng used unique teaching methods involving spontaneous confrontation with the mind and the world to induce sudden enlightenment. By contrast, the Northern Ch'an School of Shen-Hsiu aimed at "concentrating the mind in order to enter dhyana, setting the mind in that state by watching its forms of purity, arousing the mind to shine in insight, and finally controlling the mind for its inner verification."[87] Gradual enlightenment was sufficient to remove mental defilements. The central focus of the teaching of Shen-Hsiu was thus to achieve control over the mind and what Shen-Hsiu called the "clear contemplation of mind."[88] Where Shen-Hsiu speaks of "directly seeing the nature," Hui-neng speaks of "directly pointing to the human mind, seeing its nature and attaining Buddhahood." Although their teaching are different, their goals were the same--to attain enlightened Buddha-nature.

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87 Hu-Shih, *Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method.* Philosophy East and West 3, (No. 1, April, 1953), p. 3-24.

88 David W. Chappell, *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society: Buddhist and Taoist Stuides II.* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p.97.

Chapter 3

Pai-Chang Huai-Hai: The Founder of Ch'an Monasticism

1. The Life of Pai-Chang Huai-Hai

The name of Pai-Chang Huai-Hai Tai-Chih (720-814 B.C.) derives from Pai-Chang mountain, where the master Pai-Chang lived. Huai-Hai means the ocean of the heart, or the ocean of wisdom. Tai-Chih (大智) means great wisdom. He was thus known as the great wisdom Ch'an master of Pai-Chang Mountain.[1] His surname was Wong. He was born in the area of Chang-Le (長樂) of Fu-Chou (福洲) in China. According to legend, he was destined for a religious life: while a child, he went to a monastery with his mother, where he pointed to the Buddha's statue, and asked, "What is that?" His mother replied, "This is a Buddha." Pai-Chang then said, "The figure of Buddha is like a human being--so I am not different than the Buddha! When I grow up, I would like to be a Buddha!"[2]

Not long afterward, Pai-Chang Huai-Hai was ordained by the Ch'an Master Hui-Chao (慧照), who became his teacher at Chao-Yang Hsi-Shan (潮陽西山). As an adult he was ordained by Ch'an Master Fa-Lang (法朗) at Hung-Shan (衡山). Soon after he

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[1] Pi-Mo Hung, *The Chinese History of the Famous Ch'an Masters*. vol. 7-9, p. 10-21.
[2] Ibid., p. 18. The place today is the name of a county in Kangsi Province of Chiang-Hsi.

visited the Fa-Ch'an Monastery to read Buddhist scriptures at Lu-Chiang (盧江), which is today located in the province of An-Hui (安徽).[3] During this time Pai-Chang visited his future teacher, Ma-Tsu, who was residing at Nan-Kong (南康),[4] teaching Dharma. Ma-Tsu agreed to take on Pai-Chang as his disciple, a relationship which was to have a profound impact upon the history of Chinese Buddhism. In the words of the famous Chinese Buddhist saying, "Ma-Tsu established the monastery, and Pai-Chang organized its Ch'ing-Kuei (清規, Pure Rules)." [5]

Chinese Ch'an is grounded in the monastic "Pure Rules" laid down by Pai-Chang, called *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei, The Pure Rules of Pai-Chang.* Unfortunately, the original rules disappeared during the Sung Dynasty (960-1277 C.E.). The Ch'an Master Te-Hui (德輝) recompiled the rules and modified the rules during the Yuan Dynasty (1335 C.E.) in a seminal text entitled *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei Re-edited under Imperial Decree,*[6] which did not follow the original *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei.*

II. The Thought and Teaching of Pai-Chang

A. Thought

Pai-Chang was the first Ch'an master to lay out clearly formulated rules for monks to live by and perform in a Ch'an monastery. Kuang Shih-Ching (關世謙) quotes Hakuin's *Oraïtegama* regarding the innovation:

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[3] Ibid., p. 18.

[4] Ibid., p. 18

[5] Tung-Chu Shih, 釋東初 . *A Curent Chinese Buddhist History.* 中國佛教近代史. p. 199.

[6] Pi-Mo Hung, 洪丕謨. *The Chinese History of the Famous Ch'an Masters* 我國歷史上的著名禪僧. vol. 7-9, p.19. The totality of rules has eight volumes.

Pai-Chang as well as Nan-Yueh received the Seal of the Mind from the master Ma-Tsu. Pai-Chang was the first to give a set of fixed rules to Ch'an monks and thereby make Ch'an independent of other Buddhist sects. Until the time of Pai-Chang, Ch'an monks lived for the most part in the monasteries of the Chinese Mahayanistic Vinaya Sect. Frequently, if the group of monks was large, a separate section of the monastery was allotted to them, but their mode of life was ordered in accordance with regulations of that sect. [7]

Until Ch'an Master Ma-Tsu, the style of the Ch'an sect underwent continuous change. Ch'an Master Pai-Chang modified and stabilized the monastic system. The *Old Pure Rule* written by Dei Yang-Yi (戴楊億) states: "From the time that the Ch'an School was established by Bodhidharma, through the sixth patriarch Hui-Neng, who resided at Chao-Hsi (曹溪), Pai-Chang and all Ch'an monks were living in the Vinaya monastery. Although they were supposed to live in a hall separate from the Dharma Hall, this was not reflected by the monastic rules of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang who was always dissatisfied with this situation."[8] Pai-Chang said: "I want the path of Buddha to continue and the Dharma to spread. I do not want to eliminate the original practices, but how can I stay with the Vinaya and Agama practitioners?" [9]

Thus he resolved to set up his own Ch'an monastery with its own unique rules. The *Old Pure Rule* came to refer to the original work written by Pai-Chang, which unfortunately was lost. Today all monasteries use *The Pure Rule of Pai-Chang Re-edited under Imperial Decree*, written during the Yuan Dynasty (1335 C.E.), which is a partial reconstruction of the original lost work. It in turn has gone through several modifications,

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[7] Shih-Ching Kuang, 關世謙. *The Chinese History of Ch'an School* 中國禪宗史. p. 37-38.

[8] Man-Tao Chang, *The Collection of Treatise of Ch'an Studies.* 禪學論文集. p. 184.

[9] Ibid., p. 184.

removing it several steps from certain features of Pai-Chang's original work. *The Biography of Eminent Buddhist Monks of the Sung-Kao-Seng Chuan* (宋高僧傳) together with *The Preface of the Old Pure Rule* 古清規序 written by Dei Yang-Yi (戴楊億) in the *Ching-Te-Chuan-Teng Lu* (景德傳燈錄), and *The Record of Transmission of the Lamp of Ching-Te*,[10] provide a brief introduction to the embellishment and alteration of the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang. From the remnants of the *Old Pure Rule*, the essence of Pai-Chang's pure rules are the following:

1. The establishment of a monastic hall in which all monks live together, meditate and sleep in a "long bed."
2. The establishment of a residence for the elders and the abbot.
3. The substitution of a Dharma Hall for the Buddha Hall. In the Dharma Hall the master gives lectures and leads his students in discussion. Having no Buddha Hall in the Monastery originally conformed to the sect's rules, but it eventually became foreign to Chinese Buddhism because the newly emerging Ch'an monastery did not have sufficient finances to support many people.
4. The establishment of "the practice of universal invitation," in which all members of the monastery, whether of high or low rank, were required to work in the fields doing work such as plowing, planting, building irrigation systems, growing, harvesting and so forth.[11]

One of the strengths of Pai-Chang's innovations lay in his personal example: he himself was a model of diligent labor. The *Pai-Chang Ta-Min* (百丈塔銘), the *Pagoda Inscription of Pai-Chang*, written by Chen Yu (陳羽), states that Pai-Chang worked side

[10] Ibid., p. 184.
[11] Man-Tao Chang, 張曼濤. *A Collection of Treatise of Ch'an Studies*. p.185.

by side with all the monks, and that all monks worked equally hard. Another source, *Pai-chang Kwan Lu* (百丈廣錄), the *Wide Record of Pai-Chang*, states that Pai-Chang was an enthusiastic worker. A famous story from the text recounts that "Ch'an Master Pai-Chang always participated in the labor of the practice of universal invitation, and was the hardest working person. When his disciples saw his effort, they hid his tools and asked him to rest. But the Master said, '[without my tools] I am not virtuous and cannot compete with others.'[12] He searched the area for his instruments and did not eat at all, from which came the famous proverb, 'A day without work means a day without eating.'"[13] This proverb, transmitted continuously for more than a thousand years, has come to embody the Ch'an monastic spirit.

According to the *Transmission of the Lamp,* someone commented to Pai-Chang Huai-Hui: "You neither cultivate and study the Theravada Buddhism of the Agama Sutra, nor do you follow the Yogacara commentary, the *In-Low Sutra* (瓔珞經) or the Keyūra-Sūtra from the Vinaya of Mahayana Buddhism."[14] The comment suggests that Pai-Chang neither practiced Theravada nor Mahayana Buddhism. Pai-Chang replied: "My teaching is neither Theravada nor Mahayana. Both are equal to me. I apply the Middle Way to the laying down of rules."[15] The following chapter will discuss in detail how Pai-Chang implemented the philosophy of the Middle Way in the development of a monastic bureaucracy.

Once an interrogator asked Pai-Chang: "Don't you think that cutting weeds, digging the ground and reclaiming the land...are against the Buddha's teachings, and the

12 Ibid., p. 185.
13 Ibid., p. 185.
14 T. 48. p.1158a.
15 T. 48. p.1158a.

Vinaya (precepts)?" Pai-Chang answered: "The Ch'an School spreads and has continuity. The mind is void. No dust stays in the mind, not even void characteristics of the void. How can you put evil in such a place?" [16] The response is indicative of the distinctive Ch'an approach to the cultivation of the Dharma-mind: to have a direct experience of mind as the Buddha did. All labors and affairs become Buddha-phenomenon, opportunities to experience mind as the Buddha did. This teaching extends to all levels of action and consciousness: just as seeing the Dharma is seeing the Buddha, seeing the form (of a thing) is seeing the mind. Thus form, mind, and Buddha are undifferentiated. In this way, mundane labors and affairs become pieces of the Buddha's teaching.

B. Teaching

Nan-Yueh's (677-744) disciple was Ma-Tsu Tao-I (709-788.), who established the Ch'an monastery. Once while lecturing Ma-Tsu stated: "We do not have to direct ourselves toward the Tao. Do not make it dusty.... If one tries to meet the Tao, a Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin (平常心), an ordinary-mind, is a Tao.... Tao is like what we are doing now, living, sitting, and lying down, and perceiving objects--all these are called the Tao."[17] In this comment we can see the origin of Pai-Chang's synthesis, in which Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin (an ordinary-mind) and actions performed without practice or discreet volition, such as living, sitting, lying, perceiving objects--these ordinary actions performed involuntarily are the Tao, the path to enlightenment. Such an explanation emphasizes continuous practice in which no particular goal need be sought. Spiritual cultivation is identical to daily living in the most mundane senses. Elaborating on this idea, Pai-Chang said:

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16 Man-Tao Chang, *A Collection of Treatise of Ch'an Studies.* p.185.

17 Hui-Nan Yang 楊惠南, "The Basis of Southern Ch'an's Theory of Suddern Enlightenment", *Nei-Ming Magazine*, 1984, December, #153, p.28.

> To say that by practice we can attain Boddhhood is to say that if one practices, one will attain. It is to say that attainment through striving authentically reflects the mind, and was the practice of the Buddha. But if the idea is that the mind is the Buddha, then this is not a true teaching; ...it is getting caught up in verbal descriptions of the ordinary. By the Tao there is no practice to attain Buddhahood; it is without practice and attainment, or else there is no mind and no Buddha. These things were said by the Buddha. This is a true teaching...It is a kind of Ti-wei-ch'ien-jen-yu (地位前人語)...If a word [of instruction], it is a false teaching...The true teaching is said to be holding the precepts, and to be without true teaching is not holding the precepts. But the Buddha-land is without any holding of precepts or not holding precepts. Whether a teaching is a truthful teaching or not is not [an issue in the Buddha-land].[18]

Pai-Chang's comment can be divided into three sections to explain three types of practice methods. The first is that practice and attainment are the same, and that the mind is Buddha. This kind of practice is not true teaching; it is a fun-fu-ching yu (凡夫前語), a previous ordinary word)--because naturally a practitioner cannot attain enlightenment merely because of his reliance upon words. The second method is without practice and attainment and without mind and Buddha. Although this is a teaching of ultimate truth, it is still the speech of those who have not reached the level of the ten Bodhisattva Stages. Therefore it is not a dependable method to attain sudden enlightenment. Only the last method can be depended upon for the attainment of sudden enlightenment. It declares that "all words or speech are...non-ultimate teaching...[and] both ultimate and non-ultimate teachings are not allowed." This is a doctrine that transcends the opposites of beholding and violating precepts. In this doctrine there is no such thing as offense, or intentional practice or observance. It is a method by which sudden enlightenment can be attained merely by applying it in ordinary daily life.[19]

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[18] Hui-Nan Yang 楊惠南, Ibid., p. 28.

[19] Ibid., p. 28.

Ma-Tsu's and Pai-Chang's teachings are similar in that they emphasize that Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin is Tao, and that we should practice Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin in daily life. Doing, living, sitting, lying down and perceiving all objects are the Tao. However Pai-Chang gives more details, saying that Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin as Tao entails three methods of practice. Naturally because Pai-Chang himself set up rules and precepts for monastic life, he considered the holding precepts or not holding precepts very important for practitioners. At a deeper level, observing the precepts of Pin-Ch'ang-Hsin means non-observance it impossible: ordinary life becomes an observance of precepts.

III. Pai-Chang's Pure Rule of Ch'an Monasticism

A. The Establishment and Development of Pai-Chang's Pure Rule

As Chinese clerics found the Indian Vinaya difficult to observe strictly in a Chinese environment, they suffered under the dilemma of whether to modify monastic practice or remain faithful. Pai-Chang moved decisively to abandon the original Vinaya and to replace it with new monastic rules, known as the Pai-Chang Ch'ing Kuei. Originally Pai-Chang's monastic method was exceedingly simple and was practiced only in Pai-Chang's monastery on Pai-Chang Shan (Pai-Chang Mountain). Rapidly it spread throughout China. Not only did the whole Ch'an School adopt Pai-Chang's Ch'ing-Kuei, but also other schools adopt this Ch'ing-Kuei, and enlarged its contents during the Sung and Yuan Dynasties.[20]

The primitive Ch'ing-Kuei in both the *Ching-Te Chuan-Teng Lu* and *Kao-Seng Chuan* comprised the following:

[20] Sze-Bong Tso, p. 317.

1. In the monastery at Pai-Chang Shan, no main chapel for the Buddha's image was prepared, as in other monasteries. Rather there was a Fa-T'ang (Dharma Hall) for assembly.[21]

2. The high-monk (abbot) was required to live in the Fang-Chang (ten-foot Cubicle).[22]

3. All other monks, whether junior or senior, were required to live in the Seng-T'ang (Apartment for Monks). Its were linked together and occupied according to monks' seniority. The beds included frames for hanging up belongings.[23]

4. Monks were allowed to lean on the frame of their beds for rest only when feeling tired during the practice of meditation on their own beds. This type of rest was called Tai-Tao Shui ("sleeping like one who carries a sabre on his waist").[24]

5. Two assemblies were held daily, one in the morning and one in the evening. In each of the assemblies all members of the establishment gathered in the Dharma hall. After the abbot arrived and sat down, the other monks lined up at this two sides, standing and listening to his sermon or instruction. At that time they could ask him questions on Buddhism.[25]

6. The authority of the monastery did not watch closely whether the monks were diligent or lazy in their practices. Monks were instructed only to consult the abbot in his Fang-T'ang occasionally and ask him religious questions.[26]

7. The monastery supplied daily one vegetarian meal and one meal of cooked rice-gruel for its members.[27]

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21 Sung Kao-Seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
22 Sung Kao-Seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
23 Sung Kao-Seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
24 Sung Kao-Seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
25 Sung Kao-Seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
26 Sung Kao-seng Chuan. p. 771a. Ching-te Cguan-teng Lu. p. 251a.
27 Ibid., p. 771a. Traditionally, Buddhist monks are allowed to take one meal only before noon. Since the vegetarian meal comes first in the embryonic Ch'ing-Kuei, it suggests that Pai-Chang still saw lunch as the main meal in his establisment, although he allowed his disciples to take two meals a day.

8. Every monk, matter whether senior or junior, was invited to take up duties and works for the maintenance of the institution.[28]

9. In administering the monastic affairs, the abbot appointed ten officers, each of whom has an office entitled Liao-She (寮舍), Office-hut, which was served by several assistants. For instance, the superintendent of the monastic kitchen was called Fan-T'ou (飯頭), Head of the Rice-cooking; the superintendent of the vegetable grove was called Ts'ai-T'ou (菜頭), Head of the Production of Vegetables.[29]

10. A Karmadāna, Duty-distributor, was responsible for discipline and security-related matters. If someone, disguised as a monk, infiltrated into the establishment and create trouble or quarreled with the clergy, the Karmadāna investigated the case. After the troublemaker was found, the Karmadāna immediately collected the belongings from the man's bed, returned them to him and expelled him. If the transgressor also committed sins, he received corporal punishment of flogging with a staff, and was sentenced in an assembly. After that, he was told to leave through the side for as a way of insulting him. Cases of this sort were not presented to the secular magistrate's court for trial.[30]

Rule 1 of the prototypical Pure Rule emphasizes the importance of the Dharma Hall as a place for members' practice and living. The rule also effectively establishes the practice of the abbot giving public instructions and sermons. From the Ch'an historical record, all Ch'an patriarchs transmitted their Buddha-dharma from Dharma Hall. In creating the Dharma Hall, Pai-Chang followed the egalitarian, democratic teaching of the Buddha, preserving the statute quality of the Vinaya monasteries.

Rule 2 establishes the separateness of the abbot, and so encourages respect for the office of abbot. Rule 3 enjoins all monks regardless of seniority to live in the Sangha Hall, which in the Ch'an monastery is the same as a meditation hall, the main place monks train

28 SKSC, p. 770c CTCTL, p. 251a.

29 CTCTL, p. 251a.

30 CTCTL, p. 251a. Cf. also Tso Sze-Bong. p. 321-322.

spiritually. Rule 4 legitimates a short rest during spiritual training, which is considered in its deeper sense not a rest but a subtle form of work. Rule 5 establishes the norm of orderliness and respect for the abbot and his words. It demands that the ideal in monastic living should be peace and harmony. Rule 6 is designed to release Chinese monks from the harsh government of the more subtle Vinaya rules. Both rules 5 and 6 carefully structure daily life and also provide for requisite freedom for individual practice, both of which form monks most immediate concerns.[31] Rule 7 aims at eliminating the inconveniences of following the Indian monastic tradition in China by allowing two meals per day rather than one. Also rule 7 allows for the establishment of a kitchen, in contrast to the practices of the Sangha during the lifetime of the Buddha, which enjoin monks to beg alms and food in the city, and eat one meal a day as a symbol of the purity of their dedication. Chinese tradition, by contrast, looked down on begging. Instead, self-sustenance formed the mark of purity. The tradition arose in which lay people donated land, and monks did the commom manual labor in the fields, thus enabling monasteries to be self-supporting--a tradition that rapidly spread across China. After the Sung Dynasty the self-supporting monastic system fell into decline.[32] Also in contrast to Indian practice, Chinese monasteries served vegetarian meals rather than any meal that might be begged.

Rules 8 and 9 confirms the duty of physical labor. In particular, the Fan-T'ou in Rule 9 permits the establishment of a permanent kitchen. Rules 8 and 9 make cooperation and physical labor monastic ideals. Rule 10 stresses that monastic troubles must be solved internally and should not go to trial under secular law. Pai-Chang aimed at reviving the

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[31] Sato Tatsugen 佐藤達玄. 中國佛教 における 戒律 の 研究. p. 485.

[32] Ibid., p. 553.

religious unity of the Order, as monks had frequently presented their internal conflicts to the secular magistrate's court for judgment.[33]

From the above the rules, it should be noted that there is no prohibition against women entering the monasteries. Chinese monasteries could not prohibit women because they were good donors and supporters of Buddhism.

Pai-Chang's credo distinguishes the spirit of the original Pure Rule: "If one day I do not work, on that day I will not take any food."[34] Pai-Chang's epitaph likewise shows his model effort, stating that he shared manual physical labor with his disciples.[35] His personal style is recorded in dialogues with his disciples in the *Analects of the Ancient Pioneers of Ch'an Buddhism*. In these dialogues Pai-Chang invites members of the monastery to open up waste lands and turn them into fields,[36] to collect mushrooms on the slope of the mountains,[37] and to instruct members in tilling arable farming land.[38] The document also mentions that at lunch time, a bell or drum would beat to notify monks farming in the field to return.[39]

After Pai-Chang's death in 814, the members of the monastery assembled to find ways of maintaining Pai-Chang's innovations. They made five rules for perpetuating the Pure Rule as Pai-Chang had organized it. These were:

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33 Sze-Bong Tso, *The Transformation of Buddhist Vinaya in China*. p. 322-323.
34 Te-Hui. *Ch'ing-Kuei.*, p. 1119b.
35 Ch'en-Hsü. *Chüan T'ang Wên* 全堂文. vol. 10, p. 5755a. CTCTL, p. 249b
36 I-Tsang 頤藏. *Pioneers' Analects*. p. 81a-90b.
37 Ibid., p. 82a.
38 Ibid., p. 82b.
39 Ibid., p. 82b.

1. A high monk will be invited to take up the abbotship of the establishment. A Śrāmaṇera will do cleaning work for the monastery and for the Stūpas.

2. No nunnery, nun's tomb or stūpa will be allowed to be built in the confines of the monastery. Laymen too will not be allowed to live in the monastery.

3. If a monk wishes to become a disciple of the establishment, or if a child enters into the Order, the abbot will have the right to receive them. Other monks will not be allowed to receive personal disciples.

4. No monastic estates are to be developed outside the territory of the monastery.

5. Monks living in the mountains will not be allowed to accumulate personal wealth, whether in money or grain.[40]

These five new rules were engraved on a stone tablet and placed in the memorial hall of Master Pai-Chang.[41] The rules did not merely perpetuate Pai-Chang's organization, but in fact introduced certain controversial changes. For instance, Chinese monasteries traditionally welcomed lay-intellectuals to live in the monastery. Rule 2 was designed to abolish this tradition. Also Buddhist monasteries had been eager to develop their monastic estates, and the monks and nuns were eager to accumulate personal wealth. Rules 4 and 5 prohibit such developments.[42]

1. Original Precepts

During the Buddha's lifetime, the size of the Sangha increased gradually but steadily as the Buddha preached on his travels. Whenever he organized a certain rule, it was based on experience. He did not create rules first and then ask disciples to obey them.

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[40] Sze-Bong Tso, p. 324.

[41] Te-Hui. *Ch'ing-Kuei*. p. 1157a.

[42] Sze-Bong Tso, p. 325.

For instance, one evening the Buddha's disciple, Kalodayin, went to beg for food. A pregnant woman, seeing the monk standing outside her house in the dark, was scared, lost her baby, and started to scream, thinking that he was a ghost.[43] She blamed the monks and told this matter to the Buddha. Then the Buddha laid down the rule: "No more begging for food in the afternoon,"[44] explaining, "Monks, I do not eat in the evening. Because I avoid eating in the evening, I am in good health, light, energetic and live comfortably. You too, monks, avoid eating in the evening, and you will have good health."[45] The rule served many purposes. One purpose was that monks avoiding going out begging would have more time to practice in the monastery. Another purpose was to reduce the disturbance of lay people through abstinence. Thirdly, by not eating they could concentrate better on their meditation practice.

The Vinaya laid down by Buddha is different from the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang in being a "code of law" rather than an organizational and ritual blueprint. The contents of the Vinaya comprise the following:

1. The origin of each of the rules[46]
2. The origin of each of the monastic ceremonies[47]
3. The details of each of the rules of personal conduct for individual priests[48]
4. The different degrees of sins and the penalties for rule-breakers[49]

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43 Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 69.

44 Ibid., p.69.

45 Ibid., p. 68.

46 T. 22. DRMGTV. p. 570a-571b; T. 23. SVSTDV. p. 1a-b. T.22, MHSGKV. p.229a-231b.

47 T. 22, p. 787c-789a; T. 23, p.148a-149a; T.22, p. 412b-413c;

48 T.22, p.568-695c for monk & 714a-778c for nun.T. 23, p. 1a-130c for monk & 302c-331a for nun. T. 22, p. 227a-369b for monk & 514a-549a for nun.

5. The procedures of confession after the discovery of sins[50]
6. The different ways for mediating in quarrels among priests[51]
7. The details of each of the rules for priests when visiting the house of laymen in a group[52]
8. The sins that priests could commit in contact with laymen[53]
9. The details of different monastic ceremonies[54]
10. The administrative structure of the establishment[55]
11. Medical care for the monastic members[56]
12. The design of the clerical apparel, accessories and implements for the priests[57]
13. Discussion on the doctrine of important rules, etc.[58]

From its contents we know that the Vinaya emphasizes the personal conduct of the individual priest and the behavior of the community. It is not concerned with the management of the monastery.[59] Pai-Chang's Ch'ing-Kuei, by contrast, is a set of monastic rules for administration. It does not have extra material like the Vinaya. The Ch'ing-Kuei is less concerned with the personal conduct of individual priests. They stress

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49 Ibid. T.22, p.568-695c for monk & 714a-778c for nun.T. 23, p. 1a-130c for monk & 302c-331a for nun.

50 T. 22, p. 904a-906a. T. 23, p. 228b-238b.

51 T. 22, p. 913c-922c. T. 23, p. 221a-228b. T.22, p. 332a-335b.

52 T. 22, p. 698a-713a. T. 23, p. 133b-141b. T.22, p. 399b-412a.

53 T. 22, p. 695c-698a. T. 23, p. 131a-133b. T.22, p. 396b-399b

54 T. 22, p. 779a-843b. T. 23, p. 148a-178b. T. 22, p. 412b-444a.

55 T. 22, p. 936b-945a. T. 22. p. 44a-445a.

56 T. 22, p. 866c-877c. T. 23, p. 184b-194b. T. 23, p. 455a-457b.

57 T. 22, p, 843b-866b, 877c-879b. T. 23, p.178a-184b, 194b-214a, 242a-251a. T. 22, p. 445b-446a, 452a-454a, 480c-483b, 484b-c.

58 T. 22, p. 971c-990b. T. 23, p. 379a-409c. Cf. Tso Sze-bong. p. 356-357. In both, all the discussions are ascribed to Upali who asked questions which were answered by the Buddha.

59 Sze-Bong Tso, p. 330.

rather group performance. The content of Pure Rule is discussed in detail in Chapters Four and Five below.

Five precepts taken as vows by all monks formed the monastic basis of the Sangha. They are:

1. Do not kill
2. Do not steal
3. Do not commit adultery
4. Do not lie
5. Do not drink intoxicating liquors[60]

These five precepts are generally emphasized in the following forms:

1. Abstinence from destruction of life
2. Abstinence from taking what is not given
3. Abstinence from fornication
4. Abstinence from speaking falsely
5. Abstinence from drinking spirituous, strong, and maddening liquors, which is the cause of sloth[61]

These precepts were for all monks, nuns and lay people. Their general significance is the control our body and mind, and speech, which is the key to ultimate deliverance.

Do not kill

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[60] S. Tachibana, *The Ethics of Buddhism*. (Tokyo: Curzon Press Barness & Noble Books, 1926). p.58.

[61] S. Tachibana, p. 59.

Abstention from killing stresses that humane treatment is not limited merely to human beings. No living beings should be killed intentionally. The Buddha taught never to destroy the life of any living creature, even minute creatures. For example, the water filter, one of the monk's requisites, is used to filter water so that microbes may not be swallowed while drinking water. This precept parallels that of Jain monks, who are prohibited from drinking cold water.[62] Jain monks are also forbidden to throw the remains of food on green grass, because it may destroy the life of the grass, or into water where animals live, on pain that it may hurt their lives. Likewise, Buddhist monks are prohibited from wandering about during the rainy season, because trampling of the wet grass would be destructive to life.

One day the Buddha, having stayed in Bhaddiya, set out on tour for Savatthi. Reaching Savatthi, he stayed in the Jeta Grove in Anathapindika's monastery. At that time a group of six monks crossing the river Aciravati caught hold of some cows by their horns, by their ears, by their dewlaps, and by their tails, and they mounted their backs, and touched their private parts with lustful thoughts. Having dunked some young calves, they killed them. People criticized them: "How can these recluses, sons of the Sakyans, catch hold of cows, which are crossing the river Aciravati, by their horns...like householders who enjoy pleasures of the senses?" Monks heard these peoples' complaints. When the monks told this matter to the Buddha, he said: "Monks, you should not catch hold of cows by their horns, nor should you catch hold of them by their ears... Whoever should mount, there is an offense of wrong-doing. Nor should you touch their private parts with lustful thoughts. Whoever should touch them, there is a grave offense. Nor should you

[62] S. Tachibana, p. 59.

kill young calves. Whoever should kill them be dealt with according to the rule." [63] From these all examples, we can see that rules do not apply only to killing human life. They also include all creatures. To restrain from killing is to develop a compassionate mind.

Do not steal

The second precept is to refrain to stealing and theft, including ickpocketing, burglary, robbery, swindling, blackmail.[64] Other forms of theft include the infringement of others' rights, unasked interference in others' business, wasting the time of those who are employed by private persons or corporate bodies, neglect with regard to money or property belonging to the public or other persons.[65] The commentator, G.S.P. Misra states that the physical act of stealing springs forth from mental covetousness which is a blemish in and of itself.[66]

Do not commit adultery

The third precept is to retrain from adultery. The Buddhist ethic pertains not just to action but also to intention, toward the cultivation of wholesome deeds and thoughts. The precept is designed to teach monks, nuns, and lay people to cultivate their inner serenity and control their body and mind, which will help them become wholesome people. Further the precept helps prevent violence and killing. The commentator, Ken Jones remarks that the precept is neither an internal commandment nor a piece of external

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[63] I. B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline (Vinaya-pitaka)*. vol. IV, p. 254-255.

[64] S. Tachibana, *The Ethics of Buddhism*. (Barnes & Noble Books: Curzon Press, 1926) p. 60.

[65] Ibid., p. 60.

[66] G. S. Misra, *Development of Buddhist Ethics*. (Munshiram Manoharlal Press, 1984), p. 90.

legislation to provide a Buddhist "party line," but are delicate instruments for subtle investigation within and without.[67]

Do not lie

The fourth precept is to refrain from telling lies. It refers to adherence to truth in speech. G.S.P. Misra states: "Lying implies a deliberate motive of distorting the truth. False-speaking and slandering should be strenuously avoided."[68] Truth is the final standard of Buddhist morality. We ought to be absolutely true in thought, speech, and action. A community becomes very pleasant to live in when truth is regarded essential for social and individual welfare. Tachibana remarks that "true speaking is a power, according to Buddhist doctrine, as love are mind and sympathy (karuna)."[69] The speaker of truth inspires confidence in others who come to know that they may rely implicitly on his words. Saddhatissa remarks that "the speech released by a wise man is full of feeling expressing his true thought. Clumsy people whose language consists only in opening their mouths are not wise people...truth is immoral speech; this is the primeval law. In Truth, well-being and law, the saints are established."[70] When one is free from covetousness, he will never be afraid of speak the truth.

Do not drink intoxicating liquors

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[67] Ken. Jones, *The Social Face of Buddhism: An Approach to Political and Social Activism*. (London: Wisdom Press, 1989), P. 165.

[68] G.S. Misra, p.91.

[69] S. Tachibana, P. 62.

[70] Jammalawa Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Ethic: The Path to Nirvana*. (London: Wisdom Press, 1970), p. 93.

The fifth precept is abstinence from intoxicating liquors. According to Saddhatissa: "A man should not take intoxicating drinks. The householder who likes this teaching does not urge others to drink and does not condone drinking, knowing that it ends in madness. Through drunkenness foolish people commit evils and cause them to be committed by other foolish people. Avoid that which is a realm of evils, maddening, deluding, and the delight of the foolish."[71] Today's society is full of drugs and alcohol which cause people enormous suffering, such as death by drunk driving and from drug abuse. Drugs and alcohol also cause people mental disease and physical illness. Taking drugs means suicide. Thus drugs are prohibited by Buddhist teaching, as is drinking strong, maddening liquors, which are roots of torpidity.[72]

2. The Meaning of Sowing

A story from the Samyutta Nikaya teaches that there are two types of sowing, one type for common nutrition, and another to cultivate spiritual nutrition. According to the Buddha's teaching, begging was the "right livelihood"[73] for renounces and serious spiritual seekers.

One day the Buddha was staying on South Hill, at Equal, a Brahmin village. On that occasion it was the time for sowing, and the farmer Bhāradvāja, the Brahmin, had harnessed five hundred ploughs. The Buddha dressed himself in the early morning, donned his robe and took his begging bowl, and drew near the ploughing operations. At that time the farmer Bhāradvāja's distribution of food was going on. The Buddha drew

[71] Ibid., p. 95.
[72] S. Tachibaana, p.62.
[73] Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 59.

near to the scene and stood to one side. The farmer Bharadvaja saw the Buddha waiting for alms, and said: "Now I, a recluse am ploughing and sowing. When I have finished my work I eat. Do you also, recluse, plough and sow, and when you have ploughed and sowed, eat?" The Buddha answered: "I too, Brahmin, plough and sow, and when I have finished my work I eat." "But we see neither Master Gotama's team, nor his plough, nor his ploughshare, nor his goad, nor his oxen. And yet the Buddha says: 'I too, Brahmin, plough and sow, and when I have ploughed and sown, I eat!'" Then Farmer Bharadvaja addressed the Buddha in a verse:

A Ploughman by thine own confession you?
No ploughing can I see!
The Ploughman queried, tell me how to know the
Ploughing done by thee.[74]

The Buddha responded:

Faith is the seed, and rain the discipline.
Insight for me is plough fitted with yoke,
My pole is conscience and sense-mind the tie,
And mindfulness my ploughshare and my goad.
Guarded in action, guarded too in speech,
And temperate as to my stomach's food,
I weed with truth, and my release from work.
Is that fair thing of innermost desire.
Energy is my burden-bearing team,

[74] Rhys Davids, *The Book of Kindred Sayings: Sanyutta-Nikaya.* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979), vol. I, p.217.

Drawing my plough toward the haven sure.
Onward it goes nor ever turneth back;
And where it goeth we shall weep no more.
Such is the ploughing that is ploughed by me.
Whoso this ploughing has accomplished, he
From suffering and from sorrow is set free.[75]

Then the Brahmin farmer said:

"May it please Master Gotama to eat! A ploughman is Master Gotama, yea, it is for fruit ambrosial that Gotama ploughs his ploughing!"

The Buddha said:

Not mine to enjoy (presents) for chanting verses.
Not normal this, brahmin, for minds discerning,
Buddhas reject (wages) for chanting verses.
True to the Norm, such is their practice ever.
On other grounds minister thou, O brahmin,
With food and drink to a great Seer made perfect,
To one from whom purged are all mental poisons,
In whom is calm, peace from all fret and worry.
Yea, here's the field, if for reward thou lookest.[76]

When he had thus spoken, the farmer Braradvaja said: "Most excellent, Master Gotama, most excellent! As if one raised up that which had been overthrown, or revealed that

75 Rhys Davids, vol. I, p. 217-218.
76 Ibid., vol. I, p. 218.

which had been hidden, or declared the way to one who was bewildered, or carried an oil-lamp into the dark, so that they had eyes could see, even so is the Norm, in many ways made manifest by Master Gotama. Lo! I go for refuge to Gotama, Gotama the Exalted One, to the Norm, and to the Order. May Master Gotama suffer me as a lay-adherent, who from this day forth as long as life endures has taken in him refuge!" [77]

3. The Concept of Eating

In order for the Buddha-Dharma to continue through the ages, the precepts needed to be reformed and adapted to many different people, customs, and habits of society. Therefore, the Buddha's disciple Ananda asked a question about removing of those precepts which were not necessary, which caused a debate in the Sangha. Finally, a disciple of Buddha, Mahakasyapa said: "If the Buddha did not set up the rules, neither could we make any rules. If the rules were set up already, we could not disobey or change them; we should maintain awareness and maintain them." [78] The same question caused a debate in China. However, Chinese Buddhists kept the precepts that originated during previous times when Chinese rulers supported Buddhism. Because the Chinese people criticized the monks as lazy and looked down on them as parasites on society, those rulers abandoned their support. Then the master Pai-Chang set up the Pure Rules to fit the social conditions of Chinese Buddhism.

When the Buddha was near death, a disciple of Buddha, Ananda, asked Buddha after he passed away "What shall we disciples rely on?" The Buddha said: "You shall rely

77 Ibid., p. 218.
78 T. 22. p. 91. 彌沙塞部 五分律, 30.

on Dharma[79]...the Vinaya (precepts) shall be your teacher."[80] Therefore, the Sangha did not appoint anyone to replace the Buddha as a leader. The reason that the Sangha was able to continue spreading was that it relied on the Buddha-Dharma, not on any person.

Indian Buddhism in general was austere, emphasizing that "three robes and a bowl on a stone under a tree"[81] were adequate to the meager needs of a mendicant. Monks' only possessions were their robes and a bowl. They ate once daily, at the "right time," which meant, according to the Pācittiya 37 rule (Vinaya IV 85, nuns' Pācittiya 120), from sunrise to noon.[82] The rule limiting meals to one a day applied both to fully ordained monks and nuns and to novices (Vinaya 183).[83] They did not have breakfast in the morning and they did not have any meal in the evening because, first, they did not have time to go begging for so many meals, as they spent much time concentrating on their practice. Secondly, they did not want to bother lay people by begging three times a day.

In China, with its more rigorous climate and different customs, such simplicity and austerity did not suffice. Chinese monks needed to do manual labor such as farming, cutting bamboos, harvesting fields, planting the vegetables and cutting the fire wood. For physical strength they ate breakfast and a light meal in evening. This evening meal was called "medicinal food,"[84] its purpose being to support the body and mind which need the nutrition of the teaching of Ch'an. In Mahayana Buddhism it became commonly accepted

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79 T. 36. p. 145. Middle Majjimika, vol. 1, p. 654.

80 Ibid., Vinaya, vol. 38, vol, 24, p.399.

81 Heinrich Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism.* (New York: Pantheon books, 1959), p.102.

82 T 23, p. 95b. Pacittiya for monks' rule 37, nuns' rule 120.

83 Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 68.

84 D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism.* (New York: Grove Press, Inc. 1949), p. 323.

that monks needed to nourish their bodies for practicing, so that they have a light meal in evening.

The principal meal in Ch'an monasteries is lunch at 10 a.m. In the afternoon, at four, they have only what is leftover of the dinner--no special cooking is done. Unless they are invited out or invited to the house of generous patrons, their meals are as described above, year in, year out. Poverty and simplicity is their motto. The central idea not to waste, but to make the best possible use of things as they are given to us, which is also the spirit of Buddhism in general.

At meal-times a gong is struck, and the monks come out of the Meditation Hall in procession carrying their bowls to the dining-room. On the tables are prepared dishes, and all monks sit in their right place and wait for the serving monks go around with the soup and rice. The *Prajñā -pāramitā-hṛidaya-sūtra* [85] is then recited (see Plate 15--Dining Room Meal before chanting), followed by the "Five Meditations" on eating, which are:

"First, of what worth am I? Whence is this offering?

Secondly, accepting this offering, I must reflect on the deficiency of my virtue.

Thirdly, to guard over my own heart, to keep myself away from faults such as covetousness, etc.--this is the essential thing.

Fourthly, this food is taken as good medicine in order to keep the body in a healthy condition.

[85] *Prajna -paramita-hridaya-Sutra*. T. vol. 5. Suzuki, D. T. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Ibid., p. 324.

Fifthly, to ensure spiritual attainment this food is accepted."[86]

After these Meditations monks continue to think about the essence of Buddhism:

"The first mouthful is to cut off all evils;

the second mouthful is to practice every good;

the third mouthful is to save all sentient beings so that everybody will finally attain to Buddhahood."[87]

During meals, quiet prevails. The dishes are handled noiselessly by a serving monk; no word is uttered, no conversation goes on. Eating is a serious affair. Nothing is to be left when the meal is finished: the monks eat all that is served. After finishing their meal, they say, "I have now finished eating and my physical body is well nourished. I feel as if my will-power could shake the ten quarters of the world and dominate the past, present, and future: welfare of all beings, may we all unfailingly gain in powers miraculous!" [88] This eating style is called Kuo-T'ang (過堂), lunch time, (see picture--Dining Room). The tables are now empty as before except those rice grains offered to the spiritual beings at the beginning of the meal. The wooden blocks are clapped, thanks are given, and the monks leave the room in an orderly procession just as they came in. Monastic life is well-ordered and harmonious, with everyone willing to follow the rules.

4. Building a Harmonious Sangha

Monks' gathering and living in one place is a model for a democratic system. Monasticism is a complete performance, the actualization of a specific idea: that every

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[86] Te-Hui. *Ch'ing-kuei.* T 48, p. 1145a. & T. vol. 22, The *Caturvarga-Vinaya* 四分律行事鈔中之三.

[87] Ibid., T 48, p. 1145a.

[88] D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Ibid., p.325.

member of the group is equal. This guiding spirit of this equal and harmonious life is called "the principal of Sangha," [89] which includes six elements, the so-called "Six Principal Concordances." [90] They are:

1. Bodily unity in the form of worship--living liberation
2. Oral unity in chanting--speech liberation
3. Mental unity in faith--the believed liberation
4. Moral unity in observing the precepts--democratic liberation
5. Doctrinal unity in views and explanations--learning liberation
6. Economic unity in community of goods, deeds and studies--economic equality[91]

Ma-Tsu and Pai-Chang helped to transform the six concords from an Indian practice to a Chinese practice. Pai-Chang abandoned Indian mendicant life for a restructured monastic system, which was subsequently adapted and supported by the Ch'an School. In the process, he reformed the older precepts by creating new rules.[92] All these rules relate to the advanced courses of study and practice in higher precepts, meditation, and wisdom. The monastic Order was established to enable better communication and socialization among the monks and nuns. The new system received the praise even of the great Sung Dynasty Confucian, Cheng Yi-Chuan (程伊川), who

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89 Tung-Chu Shih 釋東初, *Monastic System and Education of Zen School.* p. 11.
90 Ibid., p. 11.
91 Tung-Chu Shih 釋東初, *Monastic System and Education of Zen School.* Fo-kuang Buddhist Journal No.1, March 1976. p. 11.
92 Chien-Yuan Liang, *Discussion of the Six Concord's Spirit Relating with a Harmonious Society.* Shih Tzu Hou, 1989-90, vol. 28-29, East, p. 1.

remarked, "Here represents the ritual and music of three dynasties (which are Hsiu, Shang and Chou)!" [93]

B. The Significance of Pai-Chang's Pure Rule

1. The Meaning of the Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei)

The Pure Rule fused the thought and practices of Mahayana and Theravada Buddhism, into a collection of reformed monastic precepts adapted to Chinese society. Due to the internal and external factors mentioned in Chapter 1, Chinese clerics found it difficult to observe strictly the rules of the Vinaya laid out by the Buddha. Chinese clerics strove to save themselves from the dilemma of reluctantly observing the inconvenient Vinaya. Pai-Chang of Ch'an School resolved the difficulty by deciding to give up the Vinaya and to replace it with a set of new monastic rules. His main consideration was creating a monastic environment conducive to the perpetuation of Buddha-Dharma. Even though the original set of rules was very simple, it spread rapidly to the whole of China because it was based on the Chinese environment. Not only did the all Ch'an Buddhist establishments adopt Pai-Chang's Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei), but they enlarged its contents through the time. Even sectarians of the Disciplinarian School quoted from the various versions of the Pure Rule to organize a set of monastic rules for the administration of the establishments of their own school.

After Chinese Buddhism suffered persecution, Buddhist priests no longer stayed in the cities. They lived in the mountains in order to protect themselves, so that they created new forms of self-sufficiency. Only the Ch'an School rapidly recovered its teaching.

[93] Tung-Chu Shih, *The Current Chinese Buddhist History*. p. 199.

Other sects were totally destroyed by the imperial court and never rebuilt their own monasteries or teachings.

The major significance of the Pure Rule is its emphasis on communal manual labor. This communal manual labor not only brought material sustenance, but demonstrated high spiritual cooperation. The method of P'u-Ch'ing (universal invitation) forms a unique historical characteristic of Ch'an monasticism based on Pai-Chang's teaching.[94] P'u-Ch'ing cultivated monks' behavior and trained their minds in good conduct during communal tasks. It not only emphasizes fulfillment of an individual duty or task, but also that work is spiritual practice. Working concentrates the mind. Monastic communal labor is thus to be distinguished from secular manual labor, which is not work for spiritual cultivation, but work to survive.

The Pure Rule in general emphasizes group as opposed to individual living.[95] The emphasis on the collective shows that equality in effort supersedes office and seniority in importance: everyone in the Order, whether of high rank, such as superintendent, or law rank, or novice, such as a newly ordained monk---everyone is equal before the law of the Pure Rule. This equality is reflected in food, clothing, ritual and work habits and duties.[96] It is further reflected in the innovation of the Dharma Hall as a communal place for Ch'an masters to train and transmit dharma to their disciples, and to learn ritual.

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94 Genryu Kagamishima 鏡島元隆, 百丈清規 の 成立 とその意義. 印度佛教學研究, No 6 &7, p. 124-125.

95 Masaharu Oshita 押田雅治, 禪宗清規 とキリスト教會則, 駒澤大學院佛教學研究會年報, 13, 1995, p. 76.

96 Yung-Meng Wu 吳永猛, *The Study of Chinese Buddhist Economic Development* 中國佛教經濟發展之研究. (Taipei: Wen-Ching Press, 1986), p. 118.

The Pure Rule also enabled the monastery to become a real force in social and economic life. Manual labor freed the monastery from dependence on outside support, which, paradoxically, earned it legitimacy and social patronage. [97] The Pure Rule influenced deeply later Sung Dynasty monasticism to open many institutes.

2. The Six Principal Concordances

The Pure Rule of Pai-Chang includes features not exclusively attributed to Pai-Chang's monastery, but which were part of the Buddhist lineage in the largest sense. Pai-Chang retained the Six Principal Concordances from the Vinaya as indispensable elements of guiding wisdom. The Six Principal Concordances appear in several different sutras.[98] The clearest statement of the Six Concordances appears in the Majjhima-Nikaya (Agama), in *The Samagama Sutra*. The Buddha says:

> Ananda, these six things are to be remembered, making for affection, making for respect; they are conducive to concord, to lack of contention, to harmony and unity. What [are the] six? Herein, Ananda, a monk should offer his fellow Brahma-farers a friendly act of body both in public and in private. This is a thing to be remembered, making for affection, making for respect, which is conducive to concord, to lack of contention, to harmony and unity. And again, Ananda, a monk should offer a friendly act of speech.... a friendly act of thought.... both in public and in private. This too is a thing to be remembered, making for affection, making for respect....to harmony and unity. And again, Ananda, whatever are those lawful acquisitions, lawfully acquired, if they be even but what is put into the begging

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[97] Pi-Mo Hung 洪丕謨, *The Chinese of Famous Ch'an Masters*. Hai-Ch'ao-Yin Monthly, Taipei, no. 7,8,9, 1986, p. 18.
[98] Chien-Yuan Liang, p. 11.

bowl--a monk should be one to enjoy sharing such acquisitions, to enjoy them in common with his virtuous fellow Brahma-farers. This too is a thing to be remembered.... And again, Ananda, whatever are those moral habits that are faultless, without flaw, spotless, without blemish, freeing, praised by wise men, unvarnished, conducive to concentration--a monk should dwell united in moral habits such as these with his fellow Brahma-farers, both in public and in private. This too is a thing to be remembered .... And again, Ananda, whatever view is Arayan, leading onwards, leading him who acts according to it to the complete destruction of anguish--a monk should dwell united in such a view as this with his fellow Brahma-farers, both in public and private. This too is a thing to be remembered; making for affection, making for respect, conducive to concord, to lack of contention, to harmony and unity. Ananda, these are the six things to be remembered, making for affection, making for respect, which are conducive to concord, to lack of contention, to harmony and unity. If you, Ananda, undertaking these six things to be remembered, should practice them--would you, Ananda, see any way of speech, subtle or gross, that you could not endure?

No, Revered One.

Wherefore, Ananda, undertaking these six things to be remembered, practice them; for a long time it will be for your welfare and happiness.[99]

The purpose of the Six Concordances is to liberate monks from conflict, as discord in the Sangha is thought to be inconsistent with the ideal community. It is imperative that monastic rules be observed by those who choose to live in the monastery, just as traffic rules must be obeyed by all citizens who drive. In addition, the members must observe

[99] Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, Majjhima-Nikaya, *Discourse of Samaga Sutra.* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1977). p. 29-37.

Uposatha, precept for monks. The Uposatha refers to the twice a month confession of Vinaya transgressions by monks and nuns. This practice helps to purify the members of the Sangha. The Six Concordances promote social harmony in the monastery in the following ways.

A. "Living together in one place." Living together means that we have to respect and help each other. When people get sick, they immediately go to a medical doctor to cure the body. In the same way Buddha helped his sick disciples, knitted their ragged clothing, washed their body, stayed with them overnight, and waited for them to recover completely. Only then did he leave. Such was his understanding of the compassion produced by "living together at one place."

Currently in China and Taiwan, there are same monasteries near factories. The members of the monastery need to be aware of their surroundings, cleaning and caring for the inside and outside of the monastery to create a healthy environment for all.

B. "Sharing material resources." In the original Vinaya, the monks were not allowed to cultivate the fields. Begging was the means of subsistence and the means by which they avoid killing and harming others. The Ch'an master, Pai-Chang, reformed the mendicant aspect of monastic life to enable monks to work to support themselves modification to the mendicant life.[100]

In the Chinese Buddhist monastic system in continuous use since the T'ang Dynasty, whenever the monastery receives property, money, consumer, goods, clothes or

[100] Nei-Kwan 乃光. *The Collection of Treatise of Ch'an Studies: Summary of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang.* (Taipei: Ta-Sheng Wen-Hua Shu-Pan Shu 大乘文化出版社, 1977, vol.2, p. 89-120.

food, these goods are distributed equally to all the members. According to the Vinaya precept known as the Shou-P'ei (守培), a master always shares donations received from his preaching or teaching. He distributes the money to the members of Sangha, not keeping any for himself. He earns great respect for his unselfishness. If he is virtuous, when he dies no money is to be found in his pockets. Such a monk demonstrates the highest ideal and serves as a model for lay people.

C. "Observing the same precepts." Buddha-Dharma describes the precepts as fundamental virtues and charity. *The Nirvana Sutra* says: "A precept is like a staircase of virtues, as a base for trees planted on the ground."[101] Likewise the *Fo-Shui-Chiao-Chieng (Sutra)* says: "The precepts (*sila*) are a base for emancipation; therefore they are called 'deliverance precepts.' If one observes the precepts, one will obtain *samadhi* (mindfulness) and wisdom and get rid of affliction. If one can practice pure precepts, one will gain virtues. If one can not observe precepts, then virtues are not gained. One should know that holding the precepts is the first virtue."[102] Through the Buddha's teaching, we can understand the practice of precepts is very important for monks and nuns and even for lay people. The precepts train our bodies, speech, and mind, and also, in the context of monastic practice, our community.

Sila, or precepts, differs from the Vinaya. The Sanskrit word *sila* means pure, cool, and unsophisticated, and refers to an individual's moral conduct, whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist. The practice of *sila* extinguishes suffering and results in deliverance or *nirvana*: regardless of whether an individual rich or poor, compliance with the precepts cultivates virtues. The Sanskrit word "Vinaya" means "rules of training," and refers to

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[101] T 12, p. 365. *The Nirvana Sutra.*

[102] Ibid., *Fo-Shui-Chiao-Chieng* (Sutra). T 26, p. 283.

rules governing the monastic community. From the rules of training, three actions restrain the action of evil: body, speech, and mind actions.[103] Later Vinaya came to mean "restraining rules." In short, *sila* refers to individual conduct. Vinaya refers to the principles governing a whole group, community, or nation. The ideal Sangha observes *sila* and Vinaya.

D. "Reconciling differing viewpoints." A monk or nuns studies, practices and listens to the Dharma. He or she should be aware of their responsibilities, serve the monastery, obey his or her teachers' teaching and respect others. A sutra says: "Your teachers are excellent friends. Although parents raised you, while striving for Arahatship and cultivating precept-virtue, [you are] guided by your teachers."[104] Teachers and loyal friends bestow great benevolence on us. The Buddha taught us to learn from their good conduct and overlook their faults--which is why we Buddhists say, "Observe one's virtues and do not observe his faults." When we accept the teachings of good teachers, we join in their faith. We cultivate disciples who are worthy of living in a monastery.

E. "Practicing kind speech to avoid all quarrels." People like to criticize others. A Buddhist should not allow people to quarrel or criticize each other. A Buddhist should demonstrate a harmonious life and live in a peaceful community in order to be a model for the laity. By doing good deeds, a monk can renew good attitudes. Thus the Buddha said: "The Buddhist must abstain from false speech, which includes abstaining from rough and harsh speech, backbiting and tale bearing, and rambling speech and nonsense." [105]

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[103] Yin-Shun. *The Collection of Buddhsit Treatise Origination*. p. 190-191.
[104] Chien-Yuan Liang, *Lien-Wan-Ba-San*. p. 13.
[105] Chien-Yuan Liang, p. 12.

When people act in a group, anyone can sometimes make a mistake. At that moment, the best way is to cultivate and encourage each other. As *the Dharmas Impermanent Sutra* says: "If one sees a person break a precept, do not talk about his fault to others, lead him to toward a right path, and in a short time, he will reach Arahatship."[106] No one can be perfect. If one throws away his weapon or stops his killing mind, one repents of past his evil and concentrates on his practice, and raises his Right Thoughts, one will attain enlightenment. As *Nirvana Sutra* says: "Do not praise a sentient being's virtue, but praise his Buddha seed; do not criticize his past faults--it makes a spot in your own mind." [107] Likewise a Buddhist proverb advises: "If we are the Buddha's disciples, and we wish Buddha-Dharma to grow forever, we should praise each other."

F. "Sharing the understanding of Dharma and the experience of practice with each other." Buddha's teaching is divided into many different doctrines, all of which are included the three Baskets: The Basket of Discourses (Sutra), the Basket of the Rules of Discipline Governing the Sangha (Vinaya), and the Basket of Metaphysics (Commentaries). We must learn all three Baskets so that all members follow the same path and thoughts, which will enable members to cultivate Dharma in each other. Buddha also taught us three paths of mutual cultivation: the Deva Path, the Nirvana Path, and the Bodhi Path. The Deva Path consists of cultivating the five precepts (*sila*) and the ten virtues of daily life. Practicing this path prevents us from doing evil. The Nirvana Path leads to the understanding of the Four Noble Truths and the twelve Cycles. This Path dissipates the habits of affliction and suffering. The devotees on the Bodhi Path cultivate the Six Perfections (*paramita*) and the four kinds of virtues. These practices lead to

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106 T 17, p.745. *The Dharma of Impermanence Sutra.*
107 T 12, p. 366. *The Nirvana Sutra.*

mindfulness and to the cutting off the cycle of birth and death which guides to deathlessness, happiness, non-self and pure Dharma-body.[108] Sharing the understanding the Dharma means to share the same Right Understanding of all the Buddha's teachings.

3. Work as Practice

The Pure Rules emphasize cooperative group lifestyle and individual practice. While they work, Ch'an monks and nuns concentrate their minds and practice their body and speech. Their activities are an extension of their meditation practice, no matter whether they are moving firewood, transporting water, planting seeds, sowing vegetables, making grain powder, making rice, cooking food, cleaning tables, sweeping floors, planting flowers and trees or harvesting, building waterways or in any way reaping their efforts.[109] All these are forms of Ch'an practice, of mindful practice. It is this skillful blending of spiritual practice and economic self-support that has enabled Ch'an Buddhism to survive and prosper for over twelve hundred years.

One day when Pai-Chang was coming back from work in the field, he asked master Huang-Po (黃檗): "It is not easy to work in the field, is it?" Huang-Po (黃檗) answered: "It is! Everyone shall participate in this work." Then Pai-Chang said: "You are a hard worker! You are a hard worker!" Then Huang-Po did a pantomime of hoeing in the field. Pai-Chang shouted and Huang-Po covered his ears and got out of the room.[110] The teaching here is implicit in their discussion and expression. Pai-Chang asked how much Huang-Po did in the field. He did so to examine Huang-Po: how he

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[108] Chien-Yuan Liang, p. 35.

[109] Genryu Kagamishima 鏡島元隆, 百丈清規 の 成立とその 意義. vol. 6-7, p. 128.

[110] Man-Tao Chang, *The Collection of Treatise of Ch'an Studies*. p. 185.

cultivated his mind when he was laboring, which is precisely the performance of spiritual mind practice. Huang-Po's demonstration of hoeing in the field showed just that. Pai-Chang's shouting at Huang-Po, who covered his ears and got out of the room, showed that Huang-Po always cultivated his mind and never was negligent for a moment. This kind of teaching appears often in the Records of Saying.

The Pure Rules of Pai-Chang enabled Chinese Buddhism to function extremely well in their society. Therefore, it is said in *Sung-Kao-Seng-Chuan* (宋高僧傳) that the Ch'an School was like wind that covers all grass, like an ocean that begins its flood.[111]

IV. Conclusion

The life of Pai-Chang has been briefly introduced, as well as Pai-Chang's thought, which was eventually to penetrate Chinese society. Because of the many differences in customs between China and India, Pai-Chang developed the ground rules for Ch'an monasticism, to adapt Buddha-Dharma to a Chinese cultural milieu. The Pure Rules emphasized performance of labor as part of spiritual practice, enjoining monks to respond to the "universal invitation." This invitation made manual labor a duty for every member of the Sangha, without regard to high or low ranking. While cultivating field, opening barren land for farming, planting trees, building waterways, planting the seeds, harvesting and performing other necessary labors, they simultaneously cultivated their Ch'an practice. The teaching formed the nucleus of a system based on equality and mutual responsibility. Over the centuries it has nurtured numerous Ch'an disciples to high levels of understanding. Besides this, the Pure Rule also came to represent the ritual and music of three dynasties in the Sangha.

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111 Ibid., p. 186.

Manual labor was forbidden in the original Vinaya (precepts). Pai-Chang's reformation of the monastic system emphasized self-support, as demanded under Chinese social and political customs. At the same time, the Sangha depended upon the Six Principal Concordances of Pai-Chang, which enabled them to build a harmonious Sangha. These were direct outgrowths of the original teaching of the Buddha. The thought of Pai-Chang thus made a profound contribution to Chinese Buddhism.

Chapter 4

The Organization of Monasticism

I. Introduction

This chapter will investigate the Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei) monastic system, the conditions under which it developed, and its purposes. First established during the T'ang Dynasty (618-907.), the monastic Pure Rule has persisted more than a thousand years. During each phase of its evolution, certain elements remained ancient, while distinct customs arose both in North and South China. The variety of empirical forms underscores a conceptual flexibility: The performance of the Pure Rule cannot ever be made completely suitable for all times, but must be amended as necessary to fit cultural and historical changes. There is no absolute Pure Rule. Rather there are workable Pure Rules which collectively form a process of historical experiment and refinement. Editors of the Pure Rule texts additionally struggled with persistent problems of transmission: loss of textual evidence; sectarian orthodoxy, the vagaries of interpretation. At times well-meaning editors all but lost the sense of the original. Particular versions sometimes proved either too complex or too simple to put into practice. Effective re-editing--to which the Pure Rule has owed its durability--usually resulted from editors efforts to make middle paths, both in implementâtion and as models for future versions.[1]

The content of Pai-Chang's original text cannot be definitively verified, due to the text's uncertain origin in antiquity. Not only is the original content of Pai-

1 HTC. 63. p.378b-378c. *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi.*

Chang's Pure Rule unknown, the date of its loss is also unknown. However, we cannot conclude that subsequent texts were merely attributed to Pai-Chang. The overall unity of the Pure Rule tradition supports Pai-Chang as the author of a monastic vision sufficiently distinctive and coherent that the genealogy of its texts depend importantly on a definitive, if lost work of his.

Certain scholars believe that the scripture (Taisho) version forms a prototype for what became the Pure Rule. However, the earliest definitive version of the Ch'ing-Kuei was published in 1336 during the Yuan Dynasty under the auspices of Emperor Shun-Ti (r. 1334-1368). He appointed the abbot of the Tai-Chih Shen-Shou Monastery of Ch'an Buddhism in Pai-Chang Mountain,[2] the Ch'an master Te-Hui, to codify (r.1335) the different versions of the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei.[3] Te-Hui's version, known as the *Ch'ih-Hsiu Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei*, marked a watershed. In the first place, it defines four central areas of monastic life--Chih-Ch'ih (止持) or general regulations, Tso-Ch'ih (作持) or ritual, Ning-Shou (念誦) or the turning of the Dharma-Wheel, and the Dharma Talk (說法).[4] Secondly, it is divided into nine chapters, a structure all future versions retained. If Pai-Chang was the authorizing figure behind the Pure Rule, Te-Hui was the editor who solidified the author.

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2 According to the SKSC, Emperor Mu-Tsung (R. 821-824) of the T'ang Dynasty conferred on Master Pai-Chang Huai-Hai a posthumous title of Tai-Chih Ch'an-Shih (The Master of Ch'an Buddhism who has a Great Wisdom) in 821 (p. 71a). The first two characters of the title of Te-Hui's monastery, Tai-Chih, are identical with the first two characters in Huai-Hai's posthumous title. This implies that the monastery was developed from Pai-Chang Haui-Hai's establishment.

3 T 48, p. 1159a. *Ch'ing-kuei.*

4 HTC 63, p. 378b. *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi.*

A. The Language of Monasticism

The Classical word for "monasticism," T'sung-Lin (叢林), etymologically means grass and tress, or meadow, signifying the place of assembly and living space of monks and nuns: the place where practitioners cultivate their minds and bodies, grow spiritually, nurture the sprout of arhantship within them in their daily lives. The *Avatamshaka Sutra* articulates this ideal as such: "The Bodhisattva possesses a great dharma-tree which grew from the ground. Faith is the root of compassion; wisdom is the trunk; skillful means are the branches, *samadhi* is the five means of transportation over the sea of mortality to salvation from suffering, and also five paramitas, namely almsgiving, commandment-keeping, patience under provocation, zeal, and meditation. Wisdom is the fruit of such a tree."[5] In the same spirit, the parable of the herbs from the *Saddharma-Pandarika (The Lotus of the True Law)* relates:

> The grass and the trees, the shrubs and the forests, and the medicinal herbs all follow their own needs in the spirit of the law (dharma), according to which the Buddha declares, "I am the Thus Come One, worthy of offerings, of right and universal knowledge, whose clarity and conduct are perfect, who is well gone, who understands the world, who is unexcelled, who is the regulator of men of stature, the teacher of gods and men, the Buddha, the World-Honored One. Those who have not yet crossed over, I enable to cross. Those who do not understand I cause to understand. Those who are not yet ease I put at ease. Those who are not yet in nirvana, I enable to attain nirvana. For this age and for later ages, I know things as they are...."[6]

Elsewhere the Vinaya terms the monastic practice of a group of Buddhist disciples (of at least four and even up to a hundred or a thousand) a mixture of

[5] HTC 63, p. 379c. *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi.*.

[6] Ibid., p. 379c.

water and milk--which becomes a recurrent metaphor. Figurative extrapolations of Buddhist terminology extend also to Sanskritic textual origins. The term *bhikshu*, for example, designates a seeker or disciple. It also names a fragrant plant indigenous to India, said to possess five virtues: the pliancy of its body is like *samadhi*, monks' power to control mind and body without intruding thoughts; its beauty attracts great appreciation, just as monks' wisdom and virtue saves human beings; its fragrance is like the pleasant aroma of the precepts; the cure to suffering entails the attainment of emancipation and the overcoming of defilement; by its tropic properties the plant bends both toward the sun and moon, like the understanding of monks--who face both the Buddha, the source of wisdom and brightness, and the release of wrong views and wrong actions.[7]

According to these pastoral parables, we learn generally that monks should pay attention to practice as their foundation, and that the abbot, possessing virtue, should manage the monastery peacefully and harmoniously.[8] Monasticism is a form of group living which brings together those who possesses great virtue and those without virtue. Whether one has attained arhantship or not, the monastic ideal holds all seekers equally entitled to practice in same place. Monasticism integrates into this fundamentally democratic framework the strong example of the abbot, whose instruction and personal attainment encourage rigorous, progressive practice in all members of the Sangha.

7 Ibid., HTC 63, p. 379c.

8 Ibid., p. 379c.

B. The Meaning of Ch'ing-Kuei (Pure Rule)

The Ch'ing-Kuei, Pure Rule, treats the term "dharma" in relation to purity in two principal senses. The first emphasizes purity as clarity of transmission, which protects the integrity of the Buddha's teaching. The second emphasizes purity as personal restraint.[9] Concerning purity as transmission, the Dharmagupta-Vinaya (四分律) relates: "Certain Vinaya regulations were established by the Buddha which we shall not give up. Those regulations not established by the Buddha we shall not establish."[10] Likewise, the *Medical Sutra* says: "...*Sila* in Sanskrit means precepts and law means Pure Rule; therefore, monastic disciplines appeared during the Buddha's lifetime.[11] Volume ten of the *Ekashatarman* has provided much textual basis for the view of dharma purity as the practice of restraint. In one instance, the Buddha says: "One must not prejudge the purity of a circumstance or an affair, and neither categorically participate in it nor restrain from it in principle. If the affair is impure and the restraint pure, one must now participate. On the other hand if the affair is pure but the restraint is impure, then one must participate in the affair."[12] In a similar vein, the *Brahmajala Sutra* (梵網經) relates: "When one wishes to offer monks food, one shall enter the monastery and ask who among them holds to their duties. This is the meant of a kind of the Pure Rule."[13] Taken alone, neither purity as transmission nor purity as restraint could prove a sufficient standard for the integrity of the Pure Rule. Purity as clarity of transmission naturally led scholars to maintain that the Pure Rule was given by the Buddha. This claim, however,

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9 Ibid., p. 379c.
10 Ibid., p. 379c.
11 Ibid., p. 480a.
12 Ibid., p. 379c.
13 Ibid., p. 480a.

perennially conflicted with the need to update and modify monastic practice--and forced scholars to perform legal gymnastics to prove that ancient texts successfully anticipated all future circumstances. On the other hand, purity as restraint often bred divisive competition between factions of strict and stricter legal rigorists. In combination, however, purity as transmission and as restraint functioned well. Each checked the potential excess of the other, and so permitted the development of monastic practice with both tradition and flexibility.

Through the efforts of the Emperor Ming (明帝) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E. -220 C.E.), monks gathered together to live in monasteries such according to the Vinaya's practice, striving to hold to what came to be known as the Ch'ing-Kuei. This Pure Rule became standard for the next six hundred years, up to the T'ang Dynasty (618-907 C.E.), when Pai-Chang reorganized monastic regulations and innovated reforms to meet the widely held view that monastic observance had fallen into decay. These developments will be discussed in detail below.[14]

From the above-cited quotations and interpretations, the central intent of Pure Rule becomes clear: to establish practical monastic discipline that effectively enabled monks and nuns to train their bodies, speech and minds toward proper conduct and eventually toward enlightenment. Members of Sangha followed these regulations voluntarily in pursuit of a cooperative, harmonious and spiritually enabling social life.

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14 Ibid., p. 480a.

II. *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-edited under Imperial Decree (Ch'ih-Hsiu Pa-Changg Ch'ing-Kuei* 敕修百丈清規)

In 1335, the Yuan Dynasty Emperor Shun-Ti (順帝, r. 1334-1368) [15] appointed Te-Hui (德輝), abbot of the Ta-Chih Shen-Shou Monastery (大智壽聖寺) of Ch'an Buddhism in Pai-Chang Shan,[16] to codify the different versions of the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei being practiced.[17] The Ch'an school had become predominant in China since the widespread persecutions of Buddhists by the T'ang government in 845.[18] A brief history of these centuries will be useful. From the T'ang (842-845 C.E.) persecutions up to the Five Dynasties and the Sung Dynasty, clerical and lay sectarians developed the Ch'an School teaching in the wake of the decline of other Buddhist sects. When the Mongols conquered China, they encountered the Ch'an Buddhist monk Yin-Chien, well-known as Hai-Yün (海雲, 1201-1256), who won the respect of Gengjis Khan (r. 1206-1228) and his successors. The Ch'an sectarians quickly formed alliances built upon these good graces, and so maintained their positions under Mongolian rule. The Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei became binding on virtually all monasteries as the Ch'an School (~ 625 C.E.) came to predominate throughout China.[19]

Although based on the Pali and Sanskrit Vinaya, the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei had not been translated from an Indian text, but rather was a Chinese compilation of monastic rules. Therefore it could in principle be modified by monastic authorities

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15 Sze-Bong Tso, p. 325.
16 T 48, p. 1159a.
17 Ibid., p. 1159a.
18 Sze-Bong Tso, p. 325.
19 Ibid., p. 325.

to suit changing circumstances. From the T'ang Dynasty period when Te-Hui began his revision, there had been many additions to and subtractions from the rules of the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei. The Emperor Shun-Ti (順帝) charged Te-Hui with the task of redacting and collating the versions of the Pure Rule used in the various Chinese monasteries, editing them into a single text.[20] Shun-Ti ordered Ta-Hsin (大訢), abbot of the Ta Lung-Hsiang Chih-Ch'ing Monastery (大龍翔集慶寺), to assist.[21] The work was completed in 1336, and entitled *Ch'ih-Hsiu Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei* (敕修百丈清規), *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-edited under Imperial Decree*.[22] In the same year, Emperor Shun-Ti issued an edict to all Buddhist establishments in China, instructing them to observe the precepts of the new text. Their compliance would ensure that their monastic properties would remain under the protection of the government.[23]

Shun-Ti's successor, the Ming Dynasty Emperor Tai-Tsu (太祖, r. 1367-1398), ordered in 1377 that a Buddhist monk who did not observe the Ch'ing-Kuei would be punished under secular law. In 1424, the Emperor Ch'eng-Tsu (成宗, r. 1403-1424) once again exhorted the Buddhist monks to observe the Ch'ing-Kuei. If the monks did not, they will be punished. Likewise, the Emperor Ying-Tsung (英宗, 1436-1449) ordered Hu-Yung (胡濙, 1376-1464), his Minister of Ritual, to print new copies and issue them to all Buddhist establishments in China through Hu-Yung's ministry. In the preface of the re-issue, Hu-Yung transmits the order of Emperor Ying-Tzung (英宗) that abbots must expound the newly redacted Ch'ing-

20 T 48, p. 1159a. Te-hui. *Ch'ing-kuei.*
21 Ibid., p. 1159a.
22 Ibid., p. 1159a
23 Sze-Bong Tso, p. 326.

Kuei to their monastic members in order to maintain the tradition of Ch'an Buddhism.[24]

With these efforts the Ch'ing-Kuei became the accepted monastic rule in China. Even the Ming Emperors were anxious for the adoption of the Ch'ing-Kuei. The Ch'ing-Kuei itself bears the mark of the political tribulations attending its institutionalization. It instructs the monks to bear in mind the Emperors' benevolence, conferred directly on them through exemptions from tax and national service, and the provision of the peaceful and comfortable monastic environment for living and practicing their vocation. The re-issued Ch'ing-Kuei enjoins monks to pray every morning and evening for the Buddha's blessing on the Emperors. In these ways the re-issued Ch'ing-Kuei confirmed and perpetuated the thousand year imperial authority over the monastic order.

III. Textual Antecedents of the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang.

More than five hundred years elapsed between the establishment of the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang in the T'ang Dynasty and the publication and re-establishment of the *Chi'ih-Hsiu Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei* (敕修百丈清規), *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-edited under Imperial Decree* during the Yuan Dynasty. As already stated, considerable variation in the Pure Rule practice had arisen during these centuries. Specifically, four versions of the Pure Rule[25] had emerged, each an effort to produce a uniform Pure Rule text. These versions were commonly known by the prefaces

24 Ibid., p. 327.

25 Kagamishima Genryū. 鏡島元隆. An *Investagation of the Processive Pure Rule of Pai-Chang.* p. 551.

their editors wrote. Te-Hui's text amounted to a redaction of these texts derived from the Ancient Ch'ing-Kuei.[26] Te-Hui specifically lists these texts as his sources. In sum, then, the textual genealogy goes as follows: *The Ancient Pure Rule of Pai-Chang* was known by four versions which served as the sources for Te-Hui's redaction, *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-edited under Imperial Decree (Chi'ih-Hsiu Pai-chang Ch'ing-Kuei)*. These are the four versions Te-Hui used:

1. *Ku Ch'ing-Kuei Hsu* (古清規序), *The Preface of the Ancient Ch'ing-Kuei.* This preface was composed by Yang-I (楊億) in 1004.[27]

2. *Ch'ung-Ling Ch'ing-Kuei Hsu* (叢林清規序), *The Preface of the Ch'ing-Kuei* was compiled in the Ch'ung-Ling Era, written by Tzung-I (宗賾).[28] It comprises the ten fascicles *Ch'an-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei* (禪院清規), The Pure Rule for the Ch'an Buddhist (hereafter referred to as Ch'an-Yuan), [29] and was composed by the author himself in Ch'ung-Ling (崇寧,1103) during the rule of Emperor Hui-Tzung (徽宗, r. 1101-1125) of the Northern Sung Dynasty.[30] Tzung-I (宗賾) writes that as Buddhist monasteries had begun to proliferate and vary the rules of the Ch'ing-Kuei at their own will, he consulted all the applicable rules and re-organized them in this work to offer his fellow Ch'an Buddhists a standard practice.[31]

3. *Hsien-Shun Ch'ing-Kuei Hsu* (咸淳清規序) ,*The Preface of the Ch'ing-Kuei* was compiled in the Hsien-Shun Era, written by Wei-Mien (惟勉)[32] and comprises the two fascicles *Ts'ung-Ning Chiao-Ting Ch'ing-Kuei Tsung-Yao* (崇寧校定清規總要) and *The Concise Pure Rule Prepared for*

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26 Ibid., p. 329.

27 Te-Hui. *Ch'ih-Hsiu Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei*. (Taipei: Repinted by the Monastery of White House), T. 48, p. 1157c.

28 T. 48, p.1158b.

29 Sze-Bong Tso, *The Transformation of Buddhist Vinaya in China*. Ph.D. Dissertation. (Australia: Australian National University, 1982), p. 328.

30 Ibid., p. 328.

31 Ibid., p. 328.

32 Te-Hui. T 48. p.1158b-c.

the Groves of Ch'an Buddhism (hereafter referred to as *Tsung-Yao*).[33] The preface states that the work was composed by Wei-Mien (惟勉) himself in Hsien-Shun 10 (1274) during the rule of Emperor Tu-Tzung (度宗, r. 1265-1274) of the Southern Sung Dynasty.[34] Wei-Mien (惟勉) relates that the Pai-Chang Ch'ing Kuei had been long in use, and some of its rules had been distorted. He therefore has compared and collated the different versions and condensed their rules for the convenience of his fellow Ch'an Buddhists.[35]

4. *Chih-Ta Ch'ing-Kuei Hsu* (至大清規序), *The Preface of the Ch'ing-Kuei* was compiled in the Chih-Ta Era, written by Yih-Chih (弋咸),[36] and comprises the ten fascicles *Ch'an-Lin Pei-Yung Ch'ing-Kuei, The Pure Rule Applicable to the Ch'an Buddhist* (hereafter referred to as *Pei-Yung*). The preface states that Yih-Chih (弋咸) himself composed the text in Chih-Ta 4 (1311) during the rule of Emperor Wu-Tzung (Kuluk Khan, r. 1308-1311) of the Yuan Dynasty.[37] I-Hsien (1278-1311) writes that the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei had been subject to various social customs during the five hundred years since its establishment during the T'ang Dynasty, and so had changed during this long period. Some versions, he writes, began with the rules concerning the Ordination of monks, and others with the rules concerning inauguration of the abbot.[38] After discussions with his master Chioh-An in 1281, I-Hsien compiled a version designed to reconcile the differences among these versions and create a uniform text.[39]

IV. Interpreting the Prefaces to the Ancient Version Pure Rule

The prefaces to the Ancient Pure Rule also attempt to illuminate the person and the accomplishments of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang, whose efforts inspired and effectively sanctioned the Pure Rule. Yang-I (楊億), author of the *Preface of the Ancient Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei),* relates that Pai-Chang began his career living in a

33 Sze-Bong Tso, Ibid., p. 328.
34 Ibid., p. 328.
35 Te-Hui. T.48. p. 1158b.
36 Ibid., T 48, p. 1158c-1159a.
37 Sze-Bong Tso, p. 328.
38 Ibid., p. 328.
39 Ibid., p. 328.

small hut, and later moved to Ts'ao-Hsi (曹溪) to follow the monastic Vinaya. He was critical of monastic practices, and concluded that both in the sermon (dharma talk) and in general affairs, the regulations proved deficient. In a famous dialogue, Pai-Chang is reported to have claimed, "If the Buddha's teaching is to continue and spread, I cannot reject disparate interpretations in principle, but neither can I accept all interpretation as satisfactory."[40] His interrogator responded, "The *gācārybhūmi-Sāstra* (瑜伽師地論) and the *Necklace Sāstra* (*P'u-sa yin-lo- ching* (菩薩瓔珞經) or *In-Low Sutra*) [41] constitute the Vinaya of Mahayana. Why don't you use them?" The master Pai-Chang responded:

> My sect is not limited by [the parochial terms] Hinayana or Mahayana, and is not different from Hinayana or Mahayana. I will not make false distinctions when establishing a regulation for all conditions. As such, I have developed and set apart a unique, inclusive monastic place, the Ch'an Hall. There, whether one likes to practice or not, one is called a venerable one, a virtuous one. Those who are practiced and accomplished are called great venerable, senior ones. Instructors are cultivated teachers who choose to live in an abbey, as did Vimalakirti.[42] The Ch'an Hall is not a private place: at the front of it is a Buddha Hall, and behind is a Dharma Hall. By this arrangement, the Buddha and Master are very close: the Great Venerable One and the immediate venerable ones are brought together. In this place all learners gather, whether they are more or less realized, whether they are of high or low position. All are allowed to enter this Sangha regardless of their order. All are allowed to set up a bed, to hang clothes, robes and instruments. To be a part of the group means this: when one lies down, one lies in the right position, the lucky position for sleeping taught by the Buddha. When one sits [in meditation] too long, one rests for a while. When walking, standing, sitting or lying, one learns respect-inspiring deportment.[43] Moreover, whoever enters the Dharma Hall or asks about dharma, or strives to learn other things, whether he or she is full of effort or idle and lazy,

40 Te-Hui. T 48, p. 1157c-1158a.

41 Whalen Lai and Lewis R.Lancaster, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet.* (California: Berkeley Buddhist Stuides Series, 1983), p. 173.

42 Ibid., p. 173.

43 The four respect-inspiring deportments are walking, standing, sitting and lying are very important deportment in monastic life.

whether his or her position is high or low, all are allowed to gather for morning and evening training groups. When the elder ascends the pulpit for dharma talking or for affairs dealing with the community, or for preaching, all disciples line up like wild geese standing in good order at the eastern and western wings. Additionally, importance is placed on listening to guests and to the Master's questions and answers, so as to inspire and spread Buddhist practice. Upon this practice the continuation of the dharma depends. At morning time and again at lunch time, the leader emphasizes especially frugality: to keep it in the mind continuously. The Pure Rule strives toward universal equalization of position, and at provision of a sound community base to encourage individual effort.[44]

Pai-Chang's chief interest is to establish mechanisms for settling internal grievances, and a code of justice. The rule generally is that a pure group must punish all offenders. If someone causes trouble in the group or not obey the rule, the Wei-Na (維那)[45] immediately investigates, pulls the offender's name from the wall, and demands an appearance before the monastery's disciplinary committee. The committee gathers its members to discuss the matter, and if the offender is found guilty, whether to burn the offender's robe and throw away his bowl, and punish by the stick. If a sentence of expulsion is levied, it may occur through a side door, which signifies shame.[46] The juridical process carries four principal messages:

1. One must not cause trouble to the community. One must be respectful and sincere in one's dealing with the community.

2. All must comply with and respect the Buddha's regulations, so as no to destroy the Sangha's public reputation.

3. No one must make trouble with officials so as to avoid lawsuit and prison.

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44 T 48, p. 1158a. Te-Hui. *Ch'ing-kuei.*

45 Wei-Na 維那 is a name of an official in the monastery who leads a group for morning and evening chanting and meditation; when the abbot offers dharma talks, he leads, orginzes and harmonizes the group.

46 Yang-I, *Ch'ing-Kuei.* The Preface of Old Pure Rule. T 48, p. 1157-58.

4. One must not open unresolved affairs to the public.[47]

The purpose of the disciplinary regulation is to protect Buddhism. Just as important as protecting Buddhist practice from without is protecting it in the hearts of disciples. In historical perspective, when the Tathāgata was living, six monastic groups lived together only with great difficulty. In the formal and final periods,[48] when practice is said to weaken, monastic regulation becomes even more difficult. The key to maintaining strong inner commitment is practicing through one's weaknesses, so that they become inspirations, mirrors, and the source of teachings. Failing to find value in one's weaknesses, one comes to despise oneself and the members of the Sangha, and so destroy dharma. Thus the maintenance of Buddhism's public appearance depends on continuous inner striving of the members of the Sangha.[49]

Barring unusual problems, Ch'an monasteries follow the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang for all affairs, and the Pure Rule thus distinguishes its value, which is to establish regulation in order to prevent the appearance of evil. If the monasteries succeed, the members and the Sangha develop into great saints. However,

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47 Ibid., T 48, p. 1158a.

48 正法, 像法 and 末法. Buddhism is classically divided into three periods to explain the historical destiny of the dharma: the real, the formal, and the final; otherwise known as the periods of correctness, semblance, and termination. The first period, starting during the lifetime of the Buddha, lasts 500 years; the second 1,000 years; the third 3,000 years, when Maitreya is to appear and restore all things. There are also various statements about periods and dates, e.g. a division of four periods: that while the Buddha was alive, the early stage after his death, then the formal and the final periods. Soothill, William Edward. *A Dictionary of Chinese Terms.* (Taipei: Fa-Kuang Publishing, 1962), p. 420.

49 Yang-I. HTC (續藏經) 63, p. 373.

discipline often has the effect merely of restraining manners, without necessarily producing saints. Ch'an Master Pai-Chang protected the dharma so well and showed such beneficial concern that his Ch'an Pure Rule has been widely kept from beginning to end, and the essentials of his Pure Rule have spread and inspired later generations.[50] Yang-I effectively redacted, summarized, revised, compiled and transmitted the pure rule as a shinning lamp.

V. The Monastic Structure of the Te-Hui's Version of the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei

1. The Content of the Pure Rule

After *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-modified under Imperial Decree,* edited by Te-Hui (德輝) during the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1367), the next important redaction was the *Supplemental Commentary Record of the Monastic Pure Rule of Pai-Chang,* edited by (I-Jun 儀潤) during the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911). I-Jun followed the format of Te-Hui's text, which is divided into nine chapters detailing ceremonial and liturgical practices. An overview of these chapters is in order.

Chapter (Rule) 1 describes the ceremonies for twice daily prayer to invoke the Buddha's blessing upon the Emperor (Chu-Hsi-Chang 祝釐章).[51] The rule also describes blessings for the birthdays of the Emperor and the crown prince, and prayers for the good days and the good months.[52]

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50 Te-Hui. T 48, p. 1158a-1158b.

51 Te-Hui. *Ch'ih-Hsiu Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei*. (Taipei: Reprinted by the Monastery of White Horse), T 48, p. 1111b.

52 Ibid., p. 1111b.

Chapter (Rule) 2 describes mourning ceremonies for the Emperors' death anniversary (Pao-An-Chang 報恩章).[53] It also details ceremonies for the anniversary of the nation, and prayers for rain, snow and sunshine, for expelling locusts and for saving the sun and the moon from eclipse.[54]

Chapter (Rule) 3 describes mourning ceremonies for the death anniversary of the Buddha's incarnation (Pao-Pen-Chang 報本章).[55] The rule also covers ceremonies for the Buddha's incarnation, enlightenment and nirvana, and further ceremonies for the death of the emperor and the master.[56]

Chapter (Rule) 4 describes the mourning ceremonies for the death anniversary of the Buddha and patriarchs (Tsun-Tsu-Chang 尊祖章).[57] The rule also includes ceremonies for the death anniversary of Bodhidharma, Pai-Chang, the founder of the monastery and the patriarchs of Ch'an Buddhism.[58]

Chapter (Rule) 5 describes the duties of the abbot (Chu-Chih-Chang 住持章).[59] It covers the daily duty of abbot, the ritual for welcoming a new abbot, for the inauguration of a new abbot, for the retirement of the abbot, for the funeral of an abbot, and the procedure for nominating a new abbot.[60]

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53 Ibid., p. 1111b.
54 Ibid., p. 1111b.
55 Ibid., p. 1111b.
56 Ibid., p. 1111b.
57 Ibid., p. 1111b.
58 Ibid., p. 1111b.
59 Ibid., p. 1111b.
60 Ibid., p. 1111b-1111c.

Chapter (Rule) 6 concerns the nomination of candidates among the monastic members for the directorship of the Two Orders (Wings) and for their inauguration (Liang-Hsu-Chang 兩序章).[61] The rule covers the administrators of both the Western Order and the Eastern Order,[62] the two major parties of Ch'an monasticism. The rule also covers the title, duties and the nomination process of monastic administrators belonging neither to the Western nor the Eastern Order. These other administrators include: superintendents for monks; superintendents for virtue masters; superintendents for assisting in the administration, inauguration and retirement of the two Wings; executives of bowl; monk-attendants; superintendents overseeing the transition of duties between retiring and newly appointed administrators; administrators overseeing soup and tea parties given by the abbot to the retiring and newly appointed directors and superintendents, by superintendents to their retiring and newly appointed executives or monk-attendants; administrators overseeing the distribution of invitations between the above-mentioned administrators.[63]

Chapter (Rule) 7 describes the great monastic membership (monastic activities) (Tai-Chung-Chang 大眾章).[64] It covers the following: ceremonies for ordaining the Śrāmaṇeras (沙彌); rehearsal ceremonies for new disciplinarians (preceptors); ordination ceremonies for monks; ceremonies for the Sila of protection; the preparation of Dharma implements; rituals for a monk to visit other monasteries, including the contents of his simple baggage; the ritual for a monk's

61 Ibid., p. 1111c.
62 Ibid., p. 1111c-1112a.
63 Ibid., p. 1112a.
64 Ibid., p. 1112a.

salutation of another wandering monk on the road, and for entrance into another monastery; rituals for acceptance of a wandering monk into another monastery, including arrangements for meeting other monks while visiting their monastery; details for arranging monks accommodation in sundry circumstances; the rituals by which the visitors thank the authorities of the host monastery; rituals for the tea parties to be given by the abbot and other administrators to visitors; instructions on the method of the practice and meditation; details concerning the method of the ritual of sitting during Ch'an meditation; details of meditation practice during extended sittings; injunctions for the daily life of monastic members, including the obligation to congregate every evening in order to salute the abbot and listen to his sermon and instructions; details concerning the procedure of applying to the abbot for a personal interview to discuss Buddha-Dharma; the procedures for dining room rituals; further procedures for tea and soup parties; procedures concerning the P'u-Ching, the invitation of monastic members to take up productive duties in the monastery; rules concerning Kuei-Ching-Wen (龜鏡文), the personal conduct of the monastic members; reminders that monks bear in mind the essay composed by Master Pai-Chang on behaving oneself in clerical life; procedures for chanting and reciting sutras for the sick for monks on their deathbeds; procedures concerning the funeral of ordinary monks; details concerning funerals, particularly the form of the account for recording the expenses of funerals.[65]

Chapter (Rule) 8 concerns seasonal retreats for ordained monks (Chieh-La-Chang 節臘章).[66] The rule covers the following: procedures for the summer retreat and the registration of the names of the monastic members, including criteria

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65 Ibid., p. 1112a-1112b.

66 Ibid., p. 1112b.

for limiting the number of participants and for refusing wandering monks the right of participation; etiquette for the tea party to be prepared for visitors arriving before the proper date; the methods of preparation of a chart showing the seating of the monastic members, according to seniority, in the bedrooms, dining rooms and assembly hall (during scripture recitation); procedures for the tea party to be held before the beginning of the retreat; also for the tea party to be held at the retreats end; procedures for the assembly to recite the Śūrañūāmā-ṣūṭṛā, to be held on the thirteenth day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar; preparation of the board listing each member's monastic years, to be displayed in the Dharma Hall and elsewhere; details concerning the functions to be held during the festivals of the four seasons; appropriate ritual for the Small Soup Party; rituals for parties given to the monastic administrators by the abbot; the method for the recitation of the Pariṇāmanā charms in the Gnome Hall; rules concerning general ceremonial ritual; general requirements for the abbot's sermon; further guidelines for different tea and soup parties to be given to the monastic members as well as to the administrators by the abbot; guidelines for teas and parties to be given by the Treasurer; also for teas and parties to be given by the superintendents; preparation of timetables for monthly ceremonies of the lunar calendar.[67]

Chapter (Rule) 9 concerns the dharma-implements used in worship (Fa-Ch'i-Chang 法器章).[68] These dharma-implements include the bell, the wooden board, the wooden fish, the hammer, the bowl-shaped gong, the cymbal and the drum.[69]

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67 Ibid., p. 1112b.
68 Ibid., p. 1112b.
69 Ibid., p. 1112c.

The nine chapters are traditionally divided into two parts. Chapters 1 to 4 emphasize ceremonies for the Emperors, the Buddha, Bodhidharma, Pai-Chang, and Patriarchs. Through these ceremonies, monks internalize these benefactors graces and teachings. But these chapters do not merely treat these benefactors as distant presence: in commemorating the Buddhas death, monks commemorate certain elements of the Buddhas teaching. Likewise Pai-Chang's death anniversary commemorates certain elements of his teachings. Yang-Yi (楊億) in his preface to the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang, uses the death anniversary to extrapolate Pai-Chang's teaching concerning the role of idols of deceased, revered teachers: "No [idol is to be] established the Dharma Hall, but it must be only set up the Ch'an Hall (Dharma Hall). The [setting up of an] idol represents that the Buddha is worthy of utmost respect."[70] Pai-Chang's iconoclasm thus becomes clear: he did not put a Buddha statue into the Ch'an hall because the Buddha himself allowed no statues in the Dharma Hall. Pai-Chang thus retained the Buddha's own view of the Dharma hall as a preaching and practice hall only.

Part two comprises chapters 5 to 9, and articulates the most important Pure Rule (Ch'ing-Kuei). The details of monastic ritual, of the responsibilities of various monastic posts, the duties of an abbot and the directorship of the two Wings, as well as the ceremonies for ordaining Śrāmaṇeras (沙彌) monks--amount to a rich brocade of monastic observance, comprehensive guide to daily life and to holidays. These chapters are analyzed more fully below.

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70 Shinū Iwano 岩野眞雄, *The Interpretation of the Imperial Pure Rule of Pai-Chang*. (Toyko: The Great Eastern Publishing, 1938), Kuo-i-i-chieh-ching 國譯一切經, vol. 9, p. 199.

The Buddha's own rules for the Sangha as recorded in the Vinaya of the Pali Tripitaka contrast in important ways with the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang. Both do emphasize the affairs of daily life. However, Pai-Chang's monastic rule is concerned more with ritual and its details. In Pai-Chang's vision, ritual observance forms a kind of method to train the mind and body in proper conduct. The Vinaya does not emphasize ritual to the same extent. Rather it focuses more on the concentration of the mind through thirty-seven paths. The most important of these paths is that of the Four Mindfulnesses: of the body as impure; of sensation as resulting in suffering; of the mind as impermanent; and of things in general as being interdependent and without essences of their own.[71] Observance of the Four Mindfulnesses train the disciple in the vipassana-path of concentrating and purifying the mind with the power of insight to achieve full knowledge and so directly to attain the goal of arhatship.[72] This means that Pai-Chang's concern is the method of the training of monks conduct through observance of ritual is a path to arhantship.

The following section will discuss the post and functions described in chapter (rule) 6, the administration of the Two Wings. The establishment of two administrative wings proved vitally important to the development of monastic discipline not just in Ch'an Buddhist practice, but in all other schools that followed also.

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71 William Edward Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.* (Taipei: Fa-Kwan Publishing, 1962), p. 175. The Four Mindfulness is also called the Vipassana in Theravada Buddhism.

72 Paravahera Vajiranana Mahathera, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice.* (Malaysia: Buddhist Missionary Society, 1975), p. 343.

2. The System of the Two Wings

J. Prip-Moller claims that the institution of the Two Wings or Parties goes back to the Han Dynasty, when two places in the imperial palace called Tung-Hsu (東序, East Wing) and Hsi-Hsu (西序, West Wing) were set aside for aged scholars. References to the division are found as early as the middle of the fifth century in the story of the monk, Hui-I (慧依): the master of the dining hall ... [was called] to arrange the East and West parties (Tung-Hsi Hsu)"[73] at an assembly of monks gathered for the cremation of Hui-I (慧依).

The Pure Rule specifies that an abbot is.to be appointed to each of the two *Hsu*, a term designating Wings, Parties, or Orders. The abbots duties are articulated both broadly and in detail. As mentioned above, the Pure Rule describes three categories of administrators: Administrators of the Western Party, Hsi-Hsu Tao-Tso (西序頭首), Administrators of the Eastern Party, Tung-Hsu Chih-Shi (東序知事), and administrators which not related to the above the two parties Hsi-Hsu Tao-Tso (西序頭首) and Tung-Hsu Chih-Shi (東序知事). The following are descriptions of the duties of the administrators within each category:

A. The titles and duties of the Hsi-Hsu (西序), the administrators of the Western Wing (西序頭首), are found in chapter (rule) 6 of the Pure Rule as follows.

1. The Head of the Front Hall, Ch'ien-T'ang Shou-Tso (前堂首座), is charged with directing monks in meditation practice and preaching to them. The post derives from the post of Shou-Tso (首座), Director of the Ch'an-Yuan.[74] Chapter 6 says

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73 Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967), p. 98.

74 Tzung-Tsê 宗賾. Ch'an-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei 禪苑清規. HTC 63, p. 582a-b.

that a Shou-Tso should set the moral standard for the monastic members to follow.[75] This post can also be found in the Huan-Chu (幻住) Ch'ing-Kuei[76] . Five further positions are also found in the Front Hall:[77]

a. The Shu-Chih (書記) or Monastic Secretary is responsible for the literary-work of the establishment, including writing official letters, preparing the prayers and administrative notices, and composing memorials or appeals for the monastery to the government and the court.[78] The post is also called the Shu-Chuang (書狀) of the Ch'an-Yuan.[79] In the Pei-Yuan, this post is called Shu-Chi (clerk secretary).[80]

b. The Chih-K'o (知客) or Monastic Receptionist is to welcome and serve guests such as nobles, officials, donors and the high monks of other establishments, introduce them to the monastery and arrange their accommodation. If a monk dies, he is to collaborate with the monk-attendants in compiling the account of the funeral. Additionally, if a wandering monk dies in the monastery, the Chih-K'o is to arrange the funeral.[81] This post derives from the Ch'an-Yuan[82] and the Pei-Yuan.[83]

c. The Chih-T'ien (知殿) or Superintendent of Chapel Cleaning is charged with cleaning the chapels in the Ch'an Hall, taking care of the fire in the censers, and preparing warm water on the Buddha's birthday for people to bathe the image of the

75 Ibid., p.531c
76 Ming-Pen 明本. Huan-Chu Ch'ing-Kuei 幻住清規. HTC 63, p. 582c.
77 Ibid., T 48, p. 1111c-1112a.
78 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131a.
79 Ch'an-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei. HTC 63, p. 532a.
80 Yuan-Chüeh 袁桷. Pei-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei 備用清規. HTC 63, p.646c.
81 Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1131b.
82 Ch'an-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 532b-c.
83 Pei-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 647a.

Buddha.[84] The position derives from the T'ien-Chu of the Ch'an-Yuan.[85] In the Pei-Yuan,[86] the position is also called Chih-Tien.

d. The Shiang Shih-Che (香侍者) or Monk-attendant for Incense Burning is to assist the abbot in monastic ceremonies and transcribe the abbot's words in the sermon.[87] The post has two or three attendants.[88] The I-Po Shih-Che (衣鉢侍者) or Monk-attendant for the transmission of Robe and Bowl is charged with watching for creative potential among the monastic members and recommending worthy candidates to the abbot.[89] The Monk-attendant for the Guests is to assist the abbot in receiving visitors. If the Karmadana or Monastic Receptionist is absent, this monk-attendant is act for him temporarily.[90]

e. The Sheng-Shen Shih-Che (聖僧侍者) or Monk-attendant for Secretary's work is charged with drafting letters for the abbot. If the Office of Monastic Secretary is vacated, this monk-attendant will temporarily performed his duties.[91] Usually the post will be accompanied by two officers in charge of several minor duties.[92]

These regulations designate the duties of the administrators of the Front Hall. The Front Hall serves as the place for dharma talks, meetings concerning special

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84 Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1131b.
85 Ch'an-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 534a.
86 Pei-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 647b.
87 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p.1131c.
88 Johannes Prip-Moller, p. 83.
89 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1131c.
90 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131c.
91 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131c.
92 Ibid., T 48, p. 11 30c.

matters, instruction of monks and nuns in meditation, the keeping of monastic discipline and codes, disciplinary hearings for offenses, care for sick and elderly members, and meals. The Front Hall, in its wider meaning, refers to the external affairs of the monastery.[93]

2. The Head of Rear Hall, Hou-T'ang Shou-Tso (後堂首座), in contrast to the Head of the Front Hall, oversees the monastery's internal affairs. Correspondingly the Rear Hall serves as the place for, and the symbol of the monastery's internal affairs. His important duties are to present himself as a model of personal conduct for the monastic members, and serving as deputy for the Head of Front Hall when the latter is absent.[94] Generally he is charged with providing a majestic and accomplished.

The following posts in the Rear Hall are also filled: [95]

a. The Chih-Tsang (知藏) or Superintendent to the Tripitaka is responsible for the care of the Buddhist scriptures, also serves as assistant interpreter. His duties include managing the monastic library and guiding members in reading the scriptures.[96] The candidate for this post is to be a monk well-versed in Buddhist doctrines.[97] This post derives from the Tsang-Chu of the Ch'an-Yuan;[98] the Pei-Yuan occupies the same post with the same title as the Ch'an-Yuan.[99]

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93 Ibid., T 48, p. 1130c.
94 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131a.
95 Ibid., T 48, p. 1111c-1112a.
96 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131a-b.
97 Ibid., T 48, p. 1131a.
98 Ch'an-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei. HTC 63, p. 532a.
99 Pei-Yuan Ch'ing-Kuei. HTC 63, p. 582c.

b. The Chih-Yu (知浴) or Superintendent of Bathing is to instruct members to bathe by a notice on a special notice board, and to prepare bath requirements. He is responsible for arranging the towels, basins and other bathing facilities in the public bathroom, and for posting a list of members in order of seniority to indicate their order of procedure in the bath. He is also charged with beating a drum to call members to the bath.[100] The Ch'ing-Kuei says that monks should bathe every fifth day, and everyday in the hot season.[101] The post derives from the Master of Bathing of the Ch'an-Yuan.[102] The Pei-Yuan[103] calls the position Chih-Yu.

c. The Shih-Che (侍者) serves essentially the same position as the corresponding post in the Front Hall. The Shih-Che of the Rear Hall has two or three monk-attendants. His duty is to live with retired abbots and to assist a new abbot.[104]

d. The T'ang-Yeh Shih-Che (湯藥侍者) or Monk-attendant for Medical Nursing is responsible for the protection of the abbot's health, for assisting the attendant for Transmission of Robe and Bowl, and for helping the other attendants. He also serves as the abbot's private cook.[105]

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100 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1131c. The Ch'ing-Kuei says that the Chih-Yu will beat the drum three times and then the board three times to indicate that everything is ready. He gives a first drum-beat to notify the ordinary monks to enter the bathroom. The second beat is for the directors and supervisors. The third beat is for the wandering monks and the abbot. The fourth beat calls the superintendents and the productive monk-workers.

101 Ibid., T 48, p.1131b

102 Ch'an-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 533c.

103 Pei-Yuan. HTC 63, p. 647b.

104 Prip-Moller, p. 83.

105 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. Ibid., T 48, p. 1131c.

B. The following are the administrators of the Eastern Wing, Tung Hsu Chih-Shi (東序知事) and their tasks, found in Chapter 6 of the Ch' ing-Kuei.[106]

1. The Tu-Chien-Ssu (都監寺) or Supervisor of Monastic Administration is highest ranking assistant to the abbot. Responsibilities of the post include: welcoming officials and donors; keeping accounts and controlling the budget; discussing the plans of monastic projects with the other administrators and reporting their conclusion to the abbot for approval; governing the lay-attendants and ordering the flogging of transgressors; appointing executives for the monastic estates and treasury.[107] The Ch'ing-Kuei says that in ancient times --during the period of the old Pure Rule, known as Tu-Chien-Ssu (都監寺), or for short Tu-Ssu (都寺), which was maintained only during the Chien-Yuan (監院)--the tasks of the position were performed by the Monastic Secretary of the Western Party or the Main Director of Clerks, or by aged monastic members experienced in monastic administration.[108] As monasteries grew they added a Tu-Chien to assist in managing affairs.[109]

2. The Wei-Na (維那) or Karmadana (Duty-distributor) is charged with supervising the conduct of monastic members; examining the clerical certificate presenting by wandering monks to determine their authenticity; mediating quarrels among monastic members and investigating transgressions; recording the monastic years of members in order to arrange their beds in order of seniority; preparing charts to show the above-mentioned seniority and the position of the beds; leading the recitation in the assembly; attending to sick monks; arranging funerals for dead

106 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132c.
107 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132a.
108 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132a.
109 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1132a.

monks.[110] The original Ch'ing-Kuei describes the post in considerable detail,[111] as does the Ch'an-Yuan[112] and the Pei-Yuan.[113]

3. The Fu-Ssu (副寺) or Treasurer controls monastic finance, working with treasury clerks to prepare financial reports and presenting them to the abbot. Various reports were compiled daily, every ten days, monthly and annually. The position is also charged with managing food stuffs in the monastic treasury.[114] A Vice-Treasurer (Tu-Chien-Sus) assists with these tasks.[115] In the ancient Pure Rule, the Treasurer post was known as K'u-Tao (庫頭), and today is sometimes called Kuei-Tao (櫃頭) in north China. The Ch'an-Yuan calls this post K'u-Tao or the Head of the Treasury;[116] the Huan-Chu entitles it Chih-K'u or Superintendent of the Treasury.[117] The Pei-Yuan, like the Ch'ing-Kuei (The Pure Rule), calls the post Fu-Ssu.[118]

4. The Tien-Tso (典座) or Catering Manager oversees the monastery's food supply, and includes: managing the workers in the monastic fields in order to guarantee the vegetable supply; preparing other foodstuffs; preparing the Kuo-T'ang (過堂),[119] breakfast and lunch for the members of Sangha; reinforcing the P'u-Ching to maintain morale among members working in the kitchen; burning incense and

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110 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132a.
111 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132a.
112 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 530b.
113 Pei-Yuan. p. 647a.
114 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. Ibid., T 48, p. 1132b.
115 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132b.
116 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 532c.
117 Huan-Chu. p. 583a.
118 Pei-Yuan. p. 648a.
119 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1132c.

bowing in the Sheng-T'ang before preparing meals. The post derives from the Ch'an-Yuan,[120] the Pei-Yuan,[121] and the Huan-Chu.[122] The Huan-Yuan calls the post Fan-T'ou (飯頭) or Head of Rice Cooking.

5. The Chih-Sui (值歲) or Supervisor of Works serves as a general overseer of affairs.[123] His duties include inspecting all leaks or damages to the monastic building; hiring workers to repair buildings and supervising their work; inspecting monastic estates, groves, mills, grain hulls, working animals, boats and wagons, and supervising repairs to them; protecting the monastery and the above-mentioned monastic properties from fire and theft by arranging patrols.[124] The Ch'an-Yuan,[125] the Pei-Yuan[126] and the Huan-Chu[127] address the importance of keeping buildings and monastic possessions in good repair, but establishes no post for it.

C. Chapter (rule) 6 of the Ch'ing-Kuei also describes monastic administrators not belonging to either of the two Wings, known as the Other Administrators, Lieh-Chih Tsa-Wu (列職雜務). They are as follows.

1. The Liao-Yuan (寮元) or Warden-in-Chief of the Monastic Apartments controls administrative and moral affairs in the monastic apartments, including taking care of property and preparing supplies for the residents of the apartments. Several Liao-

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120 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 531a.
121 Pei-Yuan. p. 648a.
122 Huan-Chu. p. 583a.
123 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. Ibid., T 48, p. 1132c.
124 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132c.
125 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 531a.
126 Pei-Yuan. p. 648b.
127 Huan-Yuan. p. 583b-c.

Chus (the head of hut) and Fu-Liaos (the assistants of hut) are appointed to assist him.[128]

2. A Liao-Chu (寮主) or Warden of the Monastic Apartment is appointed for each of the monastic apartments, chosen from among the residents of the apartment and rotating every ten days. Duties include assisting the Liao-Yuan; removing outsiders without a permit from the abbot; and preventing commercial transactions in the apartments. The Liao-Chu reports to the Karmadana (Wei-Na) at the end of the ten day tour of duty.[129] The Pei-Yuan[130] discusses the post; the Ch'an-Yuan prescribes one month, half month and ten day tours of duty.[131]

3. The Fu-Liao (副寮) or Deputy Warden of the Monastic Apartment assists the Liao-Chu in governing the apartment. His appointment lasts the same duration--ten days--as that of the warden.[132]

4. The Yuan-Shou-T'ang-Shu (延壽堂主) or Master of the Hall for the Extension of Life is the superintendent of the monastic medical treatment room. His duty includes nursing sick monks in the sickbay; preparing medication and other hospital supplies; maintaining a hygienic environment in the bay; and seeking donations to maintain the bay in the event of financial difficulties in the monastery.[133] The Ch'an-Yuan[134] and Pei-Yuan[135] also discuss the post.

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128 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1132c-1133a.
129 Ibid., T 48, p. 1133a.
130 Pei-Yuan. p. 648b-c.
131 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 534b.
132 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133a.
133 Ibid., T 48, p. 1133a.
134 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533c.

5. The Chin-Tao (淨頭) or Head of Cleaning is responsible for sweeping the monastic grounds; putting incense in the incense-stoves; cleaning the monastic toilets; and preparing fresh and hot water for monastic members.[136] The Ch'ing-Kuei says that a volunteer should fill the post.[137] The Ch'an-Yuan[138] and the Pei-Yuan[139] both mention the post.

6. Hua-Chu (化主) or Master of Begging is charged with contacting donors for financial or material support when the monastic estates are not productive.[140] The Ch'an-Yuan describes several assistants to the Hua-Chu. They are:

a. The Hua-Chu who contacts officials and donors frequently by visiting and writing them, by brining officials and donors to see the abbot, doing small favors for them and keeping account of the collected donations.[141]

b. The Chieh-Fang (街坊) or Communicators-with-Neighbors include the Communicator for Rice Gruel, the Communicator for Rice and Wheat, and the Communicator for Vegetables and Condiments. They search for donations in the form of the above mentioned materials from lay people.[142]

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135 Pei-Yuan. p. 648c.
136 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133a.
137 Ibid., T 48, p. 1132a.
138 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533c.
139 Pei-Yuan. p. 649a.
140 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133a.
141 Ch'an-Yuan. p.535a.
142 Ibid., p. 535a.

c. The Teng-T'ou (燈頭)or Head of the Lamps seeks subscriptions to cover the cost of lamps in the monastery.[143]

d. The Po-Jo T'ou (般若頭) serves as Head of the Recitation of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.*

e. The Hua-Yen T'ou (化緣頭) serves as Head of the Recitation of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra.*

f. The Mi-T'o T'ou (彌陀頭) serves as Head of the Recitation of the Name of the Amitaba-Buddha. These above three Heads recite these Sutras or the name of that Buddha on behalf of donors.[144]

7. The Yuan-Chu (園主) or Master of the Grove manages the monastic grove and works with his men to guarantee vegetable supply to the monastic kitchen.[145] The post derives from the Yuan-T'ou or Head of the Grove of the Ch'an-Yuan[146] and the Pei-Yuan.[147]

8. The Mao-Chu (磨主) or Master of the Mill manages the monastic mill and rice huller to provide flour and hulled rice for the food supply of the monastery.[148] This

143 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533a.
144 Ibid., 533a-b.
145 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133a.
146 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 532c.
147 Pei-Yuan. p. 649a.
148 Ibid., T 48, p. 1133a.

post comes from the Mo-T'ou or Head of the Mill of the Ch'an-Yuan[149] and the Pei-Yuan.[150]

9. The Shui-T'ou (水頭) or Head of Water Supply heats water in the morning and prepares facilities for the monastic members to wash their faces and clean their mouths.[151] The Ch'an-Yuan says that occupant of this post must participate in the work of seeking donations and virtue.[152]

10. The T'an-T'ou (炭頭) or Head of the Charcoal Supply provides fuel for the monastery. He is charged with collecting firewood from the forest in the monastic territory and turning part of it into charcoal.[153] He is obliged to seek donations for fuel from donors.[154] This post is mentioned both in the Ch'an-Yuan[155] and Pei-Yuan.[156]

11. The Chuang-Shu (莊主) or Master of the Monastic Estate is responsible for watching the boundaries of the monastic fields; repairing the buildings on the estate; guiding the Chia-Kans, Tithing Cadres on the estate in directing the monastic tenants; pacifying discontent among the tenants; collecting rents from the tenants; and irrigating and harvesting monastic fields.[157] Many benefits commonly accompany

149 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533a.
150 Pei-Yuan. p. 649a.
151 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133a.
152 Ch'an-Yuan.p. 533a.
153 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p.1133a.
154 Ibid., T 48, p. 1133a.
155 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533a.
156 Pei-Yuan. p. 649a.
157 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48, p. 1133b.

the post, and so monastic members generally struggle for appointment to it.[158] The Ch'an-Yuan[159] and the Pei-Yuan[160] both discuss the post.

12. The Chu-Chuang Chien-Shou (諸莊監收) or Supervisor for the Harvest of the Monastic Estate oversees the monastic estate during the harvest season.[161] The Ch'ing-Kuei relates that there is often much corruption among the monastic members in the struggle for this post, and the appointee is liable to extort from tenants or from the monastic estate to compensate for bribes he already paid.[162] The post is discussed in the Pei-Yuan.[163]

A strong ethic of responsible leadership is clearly necessary for the proper functioning of the monastery. Leaders must possess virtue, sincerity and patience, and must be diligent in discharging their responsibilities. All positions equally demand discipline. When these positions are dutifully performed, members of Sangha are spared difficulty, and so are able to concentrate on practice and learning. On the strong foundation of a conscientiously operated monastery, monks and nuns sustain lives of peace, purification, cooperation, and non-action.

The concept of non-action is the same as P'u-Ch'ing (All Invited). Non-action is no any personal desire, and monks just follow the monastic routine to practice their daily life. On the other word, during the P'u-Ch'ing period, one of

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158 Ibid., p. 1133b.

159 Ch'an-Yuan. p. 533a.

160 Pei-Yuan. p. 648b.

161 Sze-Bong Tso, *The Transformation of Buddhist Vinaya in China*. Ph.D. Dissertation. (Australia: Australian National University, 1982), p.345.

162 Ibid., p. 345.

163 Pei-Yuan. p. 644b-c.

heads monk puts the sign on the wall, or beat the drum or bill informs all monks, every monk just goes to the work and this particular work is a kind of practice.

D. The Monastic Calendar

To maintain quality in the administrative staff, it is common for the monastery to operate on six month employment contracts. The ten or fifteen of the eighth to the sixteenth of January and July are designated for firing and re-hiring.[164] During these weeks officers and staff submit their resignations from their posts to the abbot. The resignations are considered, and if the person is to be re-hired, he or she is notified by the twelfth, given work on the thirteenth, and expected to begin formally executing the work on the sixteenth.[165] All candidates selected by the abbot are to possess virtuous conduct, high prestige and of course the capacity to carry out all responsibilities. In particular, all directors must be sincere and dedicated. If a person commits serious mistakes, neglects his or her duty, or proves inadequate for the job, that person is dismissed from the job.[166] In general the monastic position only the abbot serves over three years and others serve six month. This is the monastic formality hiring and rehiring.

An abbot must after a maximum of three or five years campaign for re-election. The campaign is supervised by the Shou-Tso Ho-Shang (首座和尙, the head of monk). The purpose of the campaign is to ensure the abbot's public

164 Shou-Yun Wong, *The System of Ten Quarters of Monasticism: The Systematic Management of the Hun Monastery*. Nei-Ming, 1993, vol.257, p. 23-27.
165 Ibid., p. 25.
166 Ibid., p. 25.

accountability in matters of virtue and prestige, personality, and motivation. A good abbot must have no desire for reputation, no private schemes, no desire to make money or profit, and no evidence of corrupt practice. He must possess Buddhist religious attainment, and must set an example for the cultivation of virtue monks, who themselves are capable of confirming the abbot's integrity. It is important that the abbot engage in democratic management internally in order effectively to teach the Buddha-dharma. It is just as important that he or she be just in dealing with government officers and lay people.[167]

Democratic management especially entails that the abbot delegate responsibilities to administrative department. In generally the system of monasticism accords to management affairs under of the abbot divided into above-mentioned those two Parties to deal with the management of whole monastic affairs its and function. This kind of character of the organizational style is to allot and cooperate every one's duty each other and take his responsibility.

The abbot bears ultimate responsibility for the affairs of all departments. Regulatory codes observed in all departments depend directly on the laws of monastic discipline, and the means of execution depend on a system of democratic management. If an officer violates monastic discipline while carrying out duties, or at any other time, he or she must submit to a punishment sanctioned by the entire monastic community--which generally will follow the Codes of Collective Life[168] of

167 Ibid., p. 25.
168 Ibid., p. 26.

the guest hall. In the case of very important events, officers are required to ask the abbot's help or intervention or to invite all executors to a conference for decision.[169]

VI. Conclusion

The guiding idea in monastic management is to create a reasonable, working system that provides members of Sangha with a good environment in which to live and practice. If management is poor, the Sangha will lack discipline and organization, and will discredit the monastery and its religious ideals. The abbot is ultimately responsible for the functioning of the monastery--the discharge of all duties, and the implementation of all policies.

Chinese Buddhism has striven to perfect the system of monastic regulation, in order to promote the essential truths of Buddhism. Socially and economically monasteries have opposed feudalistic organization, and have instead promoted democratic practices. Monastic discipline has striven to develop the "Six Spiritual Concordances" of monastic life, to form effective internal political mechanisms for just and capable leadership, to inculcate a rhythm of life in which all members take responsibility, cooperate and jointly manage learning, practice and personal cultivation.[170] The effort has been to make monastic life an intelligent choice for a serious Ch'an monk. In this spirit, the Ch'an monastery has often been referred to as a "campaign of the place of the Buddha."[171].

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169 Ibid., p. 26.
170 Ibid., p. 24.
171 Ibid., p. 24.

The power of the Pure Rule for monastic organization is beautifully reflected in the observation of Chen Ming-Tao (程明道) while on a walk one day. He saw the ritual and music of abstinence hall and commented, "the ritual and propriety of three dynasties--Hsia (c. 21 B.C.E.-c.17 B.C.E.), Shang (ca. 1766-ca. 1125 B.C.E.) and Chou (1122-1256 B.C.E.)[172] are here for demonstration. This is the power of the Pure Rule of discipline, is it not?"[173] Historically during the T'ang (618-907), Sung (960-1279) and Yuan (1280-1368) dynasties, the Pure Rule proved invaluable for the management of monasteries housing thousands of Ch'an practitioners. Through the administration and guidance of the Pure Rule, countless practitioners have found monasteries harmonious and peaceful places to instruct and cultivate their spiritual lives.

The distinguishing feature of Ch'an monastic practice is its strongly democratic traditions. Currently most Chinese monasteries follow this Ch'an practice--thus contributing democracy to the life of the people. Other monasteries' Vinaya regulations bear the marks of Ch'an influence both in Chinese Buddhism and in Buddhist practice worldwide.

172 The three generations are the three ancient Chinese dynasties--Hsia, Shang, and Chou.

173 Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei., T 48, p. 1159a.

Chapter 5

Ch'an Monastic Ritual

I. Introduction

During the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1367), the Ch'an Master Te-Hui revised and re-edited the *Pure Rule of Pai-Chang*, which contains a chapter, Rule 7, called the Great Monastic Membership (monastic activities), which concerns monastic life and ritual teachings. This chapter will explicate monastic ritual, will interpret and address its meaning, purpose, and application. These rules form a very important part of the monastic system and organization.

The Pure Rule is to the monastery what civil law is to a polis, or what policy is to a company. These laws regulate, organize, and provide for peaceful and harmonious functioning of individuals within the group, and regulate the groups activity with the world at large. The Pure Rule provides the Sangha peace and order in which to practice Ch'an, and to attain Buddhahood.

II. Monastic Activities

Chapter (Rule) 7 concerns the ceremonies for the ordination of Śrāmaṇeras (沙彌), for the full ordination of monks, and procedures for monastic discipline in the Sangha Hall (Seng-T'ang). It describes the preparation of monastic implements, including three robes and begging bowl. It also describes the functioning of P'u-Ch'ing

(普請), "all invited" or "collective participation," the work regimen according to which "every member of the Brotherhood is on the field. No distinctions are made, no exceptions are allowed; for the high as well as low in the hierarchy are engaged in the same kind of work. There is a division of labor, naturally, but no social class idea inimical to the general welfare of the Sangha."[1]

1. P'u-Ch'ing (普請, All Invited)

P'u-Ch'ing, meaning collective participation, forms the most important subject in the monastic Pure Rule. By this term, Pai-Chang meant that all the monks and nuns in the Sangha would undertake manual labor together on a basis of equality to achieve a common goal.[2] For the Ch'an School, P'u-Ch'ing was much more than working in the fields for some common goal: it was also considered a form of religious practice. Pai-Chang believed that the intention behind the deed and not the deed itself determines the nature of the karma produced. He thought if the monk decides that his performance of agricultural work is entirely for the benefit of the Three Jewels and not for any personal gain, then the manual labor is religiously appropriate and permissible. His belief in the propriety of P'u-Ch'ing was so deep that even in his old age he insisted on working in the fields against the advice of his fellow monks. The following passage indicates the central importance of collective participation:

> In...collective participation, all should exert equal effort regardless of whether the task is important or unimportant. No one should sit quietly and go contrary to the wishes of the multitude. While performing his duties, one should not indulge

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1 Theodore Griffith Foulk, *The Ch'an School and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition*. (Michigan: Michigan University, 1987), Ph.D. Dissertation, p.315.

2 Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 149.

> in ridicule or laughter, or boast about one's talents or ability. Rather, one should concentrate his mind on the Tao, and perform whatever is required by the multitude. After the task is completed, then one should return to the meditation hall and remain silent as before. One should transcend the two aspects of activity and non-activity. Thus, though one has worked all day, he has not worked at all.[3]

It is clear from this passage that the Ch'an monks were to regard agricultural labor in the same light as sitting meditation, Tso-Ch'an (坐禪). Because it was part of spiritual cultivation for monks, manual labor was considered appropriate and acceptable.

Pai-Chang states that Ch'an monks must work. Manual labor served as an example of the uniquely Chinese character of Ch'an Buddhism, unlike the Vinaya rules which prohibit manual labor. The injunction to labor represented an accommodation with the prevailing Chinese work ethic, that every able-bodied adult should perform some productive work lest he be considered a parasite on society.[4] Pai-Chang himself wrote, "I combined the Mahayana and Hinayana Vinayas extensively, and arrived at a happy medium by establishing rules of conduct that aimed at goodness. I therefore decided not to follow the traditional Vinayas but to establish a separate Ch'an tradition of life."[5]

The process has worked as follows for more than a thousand years: when the P'u-Ch'ing schedule is announced, the leader posts a sign on the wall listing the details. When the monks hear the sound of the wooden fish, drum, or the temple bell, all must gather in the place where they do the manual labor, as the Supplemental Commentary explains: "While the monks hear the bell or wooden fish or drum or gong, they cannot neglect it or engage in idle or useless talk or unrestrained or laughing. Everyone must

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3 Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, Ibid., p.150.
4 Ibid., p. 151.
5 Ibid., p. 151.

focus his mind and participate attentively in the manual labor practice. And every one must take responsibility. After they have finished their manual labor, then they return to the meditation hall."[6]. Except when one is sick, suffering from old age, or otherwise unable to participate, everyone, whether of high or low rank, must attend. Then the monks reflect on the ancient words of advice and encouragement spoken by Pai-Chang: "No work, no food."[7] Thus, in performing labor the monk takes charge of himself and his respective duties.[8]

To maximize the spiritual potential of manual labor, monks often concentrate their consciousness while working on a Kung-an given after breakfast. A famous story tells of the Ch'an Master Hsiang-Yen, who, in the so-called state of darkness, was absorbed in a Kung-an while sweeping a garden. His broom tossed up a small stone, which hit a bamboo. At that very moment, Hsiang-Yen achieved awareness of his real life. A small event in daily life can become an important moment of recognition for one who is in great darkness.[9] Cleaning the environment also cleanses the mind, particularly of hostility and hatred. With this disposition, the action of cleaning is different from simple worldly labor: it enables monks to release their minds. In doing the labor, they may trace their true-mind--performing in effect a moving meditation.[10] Ch'an in labor complements the Ch'an training that occurs in quietness and in purely speculative life. Shen-Hsiu's simple verse brings together the total attentiveness, whether in labor or in

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[6] Te-Hui. *The Supplemental Commentary of Monastic Pure Rule of Pai-Chang.* (Taipei, Repreinted by the Monastery of White Horse), HTC. 63, p. 484c.

[7] Te-Hui. Ch'ing-Kuei. T 48. p. 1144b.

[8] Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet.* (California: Berkeley Buddhist Stuides Series, 1983), p. 177.

[9] Eshin Nishimura, *Unsui: A Diary of Zen Monastic Life.* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973), p. 53.

[10] Ching-I Chou, *The Daily Life of Practicing of Ch'an.* (Taipei: Fa-Kwan Publishing, 1994), p. 48.

stillness, that marks Ch'an practice: "At all times diligently wipe it. Do not allow it to become dusty."[11]

The history of Ch'an abounds with wisdom stories of Ch'an masters actually in the midst of physical labor. A few examples follow.

- Once a monk caught Chao-Chou (趙州) in the act of sweeping, and proposed this question: "You are a great Ch'an master free from the dust of evil thoughts, and why this busy sweeping?" "The dust comes from outside!"--came quick reply from the master.[12]
- Chao-Chou was once the keeper of fire at a certain monastery. One day while closing up the gate, he made a fire and filled the house with smoke. He went on loudly crying, "Fire! Fire!" The entire Brotherhood was astir and rushed up to the gate which they found closed, with no way of getting inside. Chao-Chou said, "If you can say a word, the gate will be opened." The monks were taken aback and no words were forthcoming. Nan-Ch'uan (南泉) who was among the crows, however, took out the key and passed it over to Chao-Chou through the window. With it Chao-Chou opened the gate.[13]
- Yueh-Shan (藥山) one day seeing a monk-gardener planting vegetables, said to him: "Very well with your planting, but don't let the roots grow." The monk protested, "If the roots fail to grow, what has our Brotherhood to eat?" "Have you a month to eat?" queried the master. No answer came from the gardener.

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11 Wing-Tsit Chan, *Thes Playform Scripture*. (New York: St.John's University Press, 1963), p. 35.

12 D. T. Susuki, *The Training of the Buddhist Monk.*(New York: University Books, 1965), p.34.

13 Ibid., p. 34.

- Chih-Chang, of Kuei-Tsung, one day went to the monastery to pick some vegetables. He drew a circle around some herbs, and told the monks not to disturb them. The monks were careful not to touch them. After a while the master came out again in the yard, and seeing the herbs untouched he chased all the monks with a stick and said, "O this company of fools! Not one of them has enough intelligence!"[14]

These anecdotes about the P'u-ch'ing show that masters' and disciples' actions and conversations are full of inspirational instruction.

2. The Ritual of Ordination

One who wishes to be a Śrāmaṇera (沙彌) must commit himself or herself to the Three Refuges: Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Next he or she vows to observe the ten commandments of Śrāmaṇera, first by vowing to observe the first five precepts (do not kill, do not steal, do not commit adultery, do not lie, and do not drink intoxicating liquors) and then the second five (do not use garlands, perfumes and personal adornments, do not use high seats or beds, do not dance, singing, music and watch shows, do not take food beyond the fixed time, and do not accept money--gold, silver, and bullion). The ten precepts are taken directly from the Vinaya, and thus form a direct link between the Chinese and Indian Buddhism. Pai-Chang preserved them because of their great worth: "The five precepts are a good [way] to enter the Path, to get out of the Three Realms--the worlds of sensuous desire, of form, and of formlessness. One should practice them hard and depend upon them as upon a teacher. The precepts are beneficial for monks who observe them. One shall observe and practice them."[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 35.
[15] Te-Hui. T 48, p. 1137a.

The first five vows are known as the Five Prohibitions, which assist the Ten Virtues, after the words of the Buddha: "For every living creature there are ten ways of becoming virtuous and ten of becoming wicked. Three [are] of the body, four of the mouth, and three of the mind."[16] The first three vows give rise to three virtues of the body: preserving life, almsgiving and a living a virtuous life. The fourth vow gives rise to four virtues of the mouth: peaceful words, yielding words, truthful words and plain, unadorned words. The fifth vow produces three virtues of the will: abstinence from quarreling, mercy and acting from good motives. To the Ten Virtues correspond Ten Vices, being the negations of the virtues, [17] according to Prip-Moller.

I-Jun says concerning the first vow, to protect life is to protect beings means to practice the act of charity. The *Fan-wang Ching* (梵網經), *Brahmajāla-Sūtra* relates that if Buddhists perform compassionate acts, act protectively at all times, [then] they see all male beings as their father, see all female beings as their mother, [and become] compassionate to every life, seeing that the six realms of beings are all like their parents. Killing any being means killing parents. Protecting all beings indicates a virtuous mind. Thus the virtuous mind with regard to no killing means [monks] observe the Vinaya precept of refraining from killing.

Each precept carries two meanings, one negative and one positive. Not killing, for example, also means protecting beings. Someone asked the master Lao-Tzŭ: Mencius preached love without distinction. His theory is truly different from others: how can all beings be my parents? The master replied: Confucianists only mention the

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16 Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1967), p.312.

17 Ibid., p.312.

present life; Buddhism discusses past, present, and future life, even many lives. When one is reborn, one may be born to another realm; therefore, why shall the beings of six realms not all be my parents? Life is like a circle; if one does not attain enlightenment, the circle never breaks up.[18]

It should be noted that Pai-Chang's monastic reforms conflicted somewhat with these rules. The Pure Rules say, for example, that all members of the Sangha must participate in manual labor, such as planting vegetables and trees, working in the gardens and fields. All these are against the original regulations set up by the Buddha. How can monks observe the precept not to kill, for example, while performing manual labor? There is a likelihood that their tilling and harvesting will threaten the lives of small creatures living in the soil. The Buddha himself did not even allow monks to hurt grass. Pai-Chang worked his way around the problem partly by focusing on the practical and spiritual benefits of manual labor for monks, and partly, as indicated, by focusing on the intention behind actions rather than merely on their effect.

These five fundamental precepts are taken and observed by every monk and nun. Every Buddhist lay person shall also take and observed these fundamental precepts. When the lay people receive the precepts, they get a special certificate with which they return home. Those who are to be fully ordained as monks and nuns remain. They then take the remaining the five of the Ten Precepts.

The remaining the five of the Ten Precepts are:

6. Do not use garlands, perfumes and personal adornments
7. Do not dance, singing, music and watch shows
8. Do not use high seats or beds

[18] Johannes Prip-Moller, Ibid., p. 431.

9. Do not take food beyond the fixed time

10. Do not accept money-- gold , silver and bullion.[19]

In taking the vows, the initiate answers "yes" to each precept, then kneels and bows three times to the Buddha. Assumption of the vows means a commitment to right thoughts, to wisdom, and to eventual attainment of the bodhi-mind, and to sambodhi, omniscience of the Buddha.[20]

To be full ordained as a *bhiksu*, monk, or a *bhiksuni*, nun, one must receive the full and complete commandments, and accept the authority of the monastic leaders. Besides the Ten Precepts, there are two hundred and fifty rules for *bhiksu*s according to the Dharmagupta-Vinaya (四分律) and the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya (根本說一切有部律). For *bhiksuni*s there are three hundred and forty eight rules according to the Dharmagupta-Vinaya (四分律), three hundred fifty four according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya (根本說一切有部律), and three hundred seventy-seven according to the Mahīśāsaka-Vinaya (五分律).[21] Other Mahayana sources count five hundred rules for *bhiksuni*s. Although, as one scholar remarks, "the number of rules varies in different countries; in Tibet they amount to 253, in the Pali version they are 227; and in the Chinese 250 for monks.... the division into sections or classes of faults requiring a different degree of penance is the same throughout.[22] There is no debate that the ten fundamental precepts are the most important for.

[19] Te-Hui. Ibid., T 48, p. 1138a.

[20] Ibid., T 48, p. 1138a.

[21] Sheng-Yen Shih, *The Outine Study of the Vinaya.* (Taipei: Don-Ch'u Press, 1994), p. 206-209.

[22] Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monastries*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967), p.312.

Ordination is accompanied by repentance for sin through contemplation and repetition of the phrase: "For all the evil deeds I have done in the past, based on beginningless greed, anger, and delusion, and created by body, speech, and mind, I now know shame and repent of them all."[23] After repentance, an initiate takes his or her vow with the following assent: "I vow to cut all defilement. I vow to practice all good deeds. I vow to save all sentient beings."[24] Then he or she sincerely says: "I take refuge in the Buddha. I take refuge in the Dharma. I take refuge in the Sangha. I take refuge in the Buddha, the doubly perfected. I take refuge in the Dharma, which is honorable and apart from desire. I take refuge in the Sangha, the honored among assemblies. I have completed taking refuge in the Buddha, I have completed taking refuge in the Dharma, and I have complete taking refuge in the Sangha."[25] With these vows he or she is ordained as a monk or nun. The new initiate then contemplates that the Buddha is his or her teacher, that he set up the regulations to be his or her teacher, and that he or she must depend upon the teaching, the new monk or nun bows to the Buddha three times.

Once an initiate takes the full array of ordainational precepts, he or she receives a certificate of ordination, called Chieh-Tieh (戒牒, Picture Y). The certificate serves as identification for monks and nuns when they travel to other Ch'an monasteries, allowing them to gain room and board. The issue of a certificate of ordination was a Ch'an innovation, and not an inheritance of the Indian Vinaya.

23 I-Jun 儀潤. *Pai-Chang Ts'ung-Lin Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi* (*The Supplemental Commantary Record of the Monastic Pure Rule of Pai-Chang*). (Taipei: Reprinted by the Monastery of White Horse), HTC 63, 續藏經, p. 467b-c.

24 Ibid., HTC 63, p. 467b-c.

25 Ibid., HTC 63, p.467b-c.

3. Personal Implements (Tao-Chu 道具)

Although Ch'an does not emphasize Vinaya observance, Te-Hui's re-edited version of the rules does treat procedures for ritual observance. This observance is set against the background of Ch'an's emphasis on mind-to-mind transmission: in general meditative practice and not ritual observance are considered the central forum for Ch'an an effort.

The Ch'an school places extraordinary importance on the concentration of the mind. This mind is itself considered the Buddha. Purification of the body and speech proceed through the purification of the mind, beginning with regulations for restraining behavior. In the Śūraṅgama-Sūtra (楞嚴經) it is written: "[To] concentrate your mind is a precept."[26] The precepts increase the tranquillity of mind, and from this tranquillity comes increase wisdom, by a process involving the three Anāsravas (無漏): purity, meditation, and wisdom, with liberation from the passions and from lower incarnations. Observing the precepts is likened to stilling the waves of ocean: when no winds blow on the water, there are no waves. When the waves stop completely, we can penetrate the depths and see every tiny stone. Thus to observe the precepts leads to enlightenment. The precepts are also likened to jewels: because a person believes the jewel is valuable, he or she takes care not to break it, and maintains tender feelings toward it. Ideally, ritual observance reinforces affection for the precepts and for all they guard and enable.

The following are central forms of ritual observance for monks and nuns.

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26 I-Jun. *Pai-Chang Ts'ung-Lin Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi* (*The Suplemental Commentary Record of the Monastic Pure Rule of Pai-Chang*). HTC 63, p.473c.

1. A monk or nun must keep *sila*, recite the rules, and study the sutras. He or she must take the three robes and bowl and enter the Vinaya Hall. If the robes are old or in poor repair, he or she is not allowed to bring them in. They must be pure.[27]

2. When monks and nuns hear the fourth bell ringing at three o'clock in the morning, they put on their clothes and immediately get out of bed. If anyone has an illness and cannot attend, he or she informs others of his or her absence. Additionally, in the daytime one may not put the bed-curtains down. Doing so is an offense, and warrants punishment--Kuei-Hsiang (跪香).[28]

3. Four o'clock in the afternoon is "quiet" time. The director of the group stands and observes all monks' behavior. During this period everyone behaves strictly and there is no laughing or idle talk. After bowing, monks and nuns return to the place where they belongs. Failing to do so is an offense.[29]

4. When monks and nuns rehearse monastic rituals, they must remember and recite the Vinaya, and not engage in idle talk. When they go on duty for the day, they must pay attention to their duties and not slack off.[30]

5. When all masters enters the hall, every monk and nun must stand and bring his or her two palms together. Monks and nuns must not sit back down until after the master has seated himself.[31]

6. When studying, the desk should only have the Vinaya Sutras on it, without clothing or other things pertinent to study alongside. When drinking tea or eating food, all sutras must be closed. When eating, one must not face sutras, talk loudly or cough. Doing so is an offense.[32]

7. The monks and nuns are separated into the Western and Eastern Wings. No one can change his or her place at will. None must speak loudly when passing through the Vinaya Hall. Doing so is an offense.[33]

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[27] I-Jun. Ibid., HTC 63, p. 473c-474a.

[28] Kuei-hsiang (跪香) is a way of Buddhist punishment for monks and nuns when they break a rule. It burns a insense, one kneels down in front of Buddha untill the insence bourn out. Ibid., HTC 63, p. 474a.

[29] I-Jun. Ibid., HTC 63, p. 474a.

[30] Ibid., HTC 63, p. 474a.

[31] Ibid., HTC 63, p. 474a.

[32] Ibid., p. 474a.

[33] Ibid., p. 474a.

8. No one can use anothers' place no matter where they are. No one may talk with his neighbor or disturb others when all lie down in bed. Monks and nuns should lie on the right side when going to bed. No talking is allowed when one goes to the rest-room; one should walk lightly and quietly. One must not disturb others. Doing so is an offense.[34]

9. One must not make noises when making the bed, or engage in rough behavior. Doing so is an offense.[35]

10. When monks and nuns go to the worship hall in the morning, Shang-T'ien (上殿, Picture x), or for the lunch ceremony, Kuo-T'ang (過堂), and for affairs, all must follow proper etiquette and procedures. Looking around is prohibited. It is necessary at these times to concentrate the mind, and stand straight. Failing to do so is an offense of wrong-doing.[36]

11. Upon meeting a master, disciplinarian or an elder monk, monks and nuns must bow, bring the two palms together and stand aside, to let him or her go first. The precept produces quiet and majestic deportment. · Failing to do so is an offense.[37]

12. Monks and nuns should not speak to others while washing the face. While worshipping the Buddha, they should not stand in the same place for a long period of time. If in the company of another monk or nun, they should be considerate and caring. Failing to do so is an offense.[38]

13. Monks and nuns must announce their comings and goings, and the reason for them. They should not go to other halls to disturb others unnecessarily.[39]

14. Monks and nuns should strive to pay attention to and obey the above the rules. Neglect is an offense.[40]

The intention of these rules is to cultivate virtuous behavior in monks and nuns while they live in the Vinaya Hall. The rigor of the rules is necessary because of the

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[34] Ibid., p. 474a.
[35] Ibid., p. 474a.
[36] Ibid., p. 474a.
[37] Ibid., p. 474a.
[38] Ibid., p. 474a.
[39] Ibid., p. 474b.
[40] Ibid., HTC 63, p. 474b.

difficulty of the task: our actions, mind and behavior otherwise are like wild horses and monkeys running in fields--they never stop. In other ways we are like a small tree: if a tree does not grow up properly, we use a stick or wire to assist the tree. A monk is like a small tree which needs to be well trained during the beginning of the monastic life--thus the regulations from disciplinary masters.

The *sila* and precepts are exceedingly important for monks and nuns as essential tools for the concentration of the mind, which is the true path to enlightenment. Mindfulness traditionally is said to rest on four foundations, which are:

1. Contemplation of the body, including mindfulness of breathing, mindfulness of bodily postures and parts of the body, mindfulness of the four elements, and of death and the decay of the body
2. Contemplation of feeling
3. Contemplation of states of mind
4. Contemplation of the contents of the mind[41]

This four-fold practice of mindfulness is a fundamental practice and a protective instrument of the precepts.[42] Practicing the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, it becomes clear that wisdom is the upshot of all Buddha-dharma. In the commentary known as the Lin-feng-tzung-lun (靈峰宗論), it is written: "if one no mindfulness in wisdom is like the wearing of a Kaṣāya,[43] one is like a wooden flag bowed down, like a

[41] Nyanaponika Thera, *The Heart of Buddhist Medition.* (Maine: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1965), p. -61-73.

[42] I-Jun. HTC 63, p. 480c.

[43] Kasaya is a monks robe, is a impure color, as decayed, and dyed, not of primary color, so as to distinguish it from the normal white dress of the people.

pestle upon down, and even practicing the six paramitas is meaningless. These kinds of practice are called non-Buddhist asceticism. They are useless. If [a person] does not concentrate the mind, he is not practicing the precepts. If [a person] depends upon the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, then the preceptor will certainly produce some virtue and reach four degrees of the arhantship."[44]

A. The Three Robes

The recipient of the precepts should follow the Tao and practice virtue according to the Bodhisattva Precept Sutra's statement. When a person receives the complete set of commandments from the disciplinary master, he or she receives three robes, which include (1) Antaeavāasaka, an inner robe, known as the five robes, (2) Uttarāsaṅga, an upper robe, which is called the seven robes, (3) Saṅghāti--a double-thick outer robe, which is called a large robe and includes three levels--superior, medium, inferior (picture 1). A system of sewing strips indicates rank. The superior level is indicated by 25 strips, 23 strips, or 21 strips. The medium level is indicated by 19 strips, 17 strips, or 15 strips. The inferior level is indicated by 13 strips, 11 strips, or 9 strips.[45]

The following story from the Vinaya Pitaka relates the origin of robes.

The Lord, having stayed in Rājagaha for as long as he found suitable, set out on tour for Dakkhiṇāgiri. The Lord saw the field of Mahadha, laid out in strips, laid out in lines, laid out in embankments, laid out in squares, and seeing this, he addressed the

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The patch-robe has 25 strips and a dyed robe if of a color composed of red and yellow.

[44] I-Jun. HTC63, p. 474b.

[45] Ibid., HTC 63, p. 480c.

venerable Ananda, saying: "Now, do you Ananda, see the field of Magadha laid out in strips ... laid out in squares?"

"Yes, Lord."

"Are you able, Ananda, to provide robes like this for the monks?

"I am able, Lord."

Then the Lord, having stayed at Dakkhiṇāgiri for as long as he found suitable, went back again to Rājagaha. Then the venerable Ananda, having provided robes for several monks, approached the Lord; having approached he spoke thus to the Lord:

"Lord, let the Lord see the robes provided by me."

Then the Lord, on that occasion, having given reasoned talk, addressed the monks, saying:

"Monks, clever is Ananda; monks, of great intelligence is Ananda, inasmuch as he can understand in detail the meaning of that which was spoken of by me in brief, and can make a cross-seam and can make a short cross-seam and can make a circular seam and can make a short circular seam and can make a central piece and can make side piece and can make a neck-piece and can make a knee-piece and can make an elbow-piece; and what is cut up must be roughly darned together, suitable for recluses and not coveted by opponents. I allow you, monks, an out cloak that is cut up, an upper robe that is cut up, an inner robe that is cut up."[46]

The reasons for three robes is that when I, the Buddha, on the cold winter nights in a time of snowfall, sat down in the open air at night with only one robe; I was not cold. At the first watch of the night was ending I became cold. I put on second robe; I was not cold. I put on the third robe; I was not cold. As the last watch of the night was

[46] I. B Horner, *The Book of the Discipline--Vinaya-Pitaka*. (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982), vol. IV, p. 408-409.

ending, as the sun was rising, in the flush of dawn, I became cold. I put on a fourth robe; I was not cold. Then, monks, it occurred to me: 'Even those who in this Dharma and discipline are sons of respectable families, susceptible to cold, afraid of cold, even these are able to keep themselves going with three robes. Suppose I were to set a limit, were to establish bounds as to robes for monks and were to allow three robes?' "I allow you, monks, three robes: a double outer cloak, a single upper robe, a single inner robe." [47]

Now at that time the group of six monks, saying: "Three robes are allowed by the Lord," entered a village in one set of three robes, remained in the monastery in another set of three robes, went down to bathe in another set of three robes. Those who were modest monks looked down upon, criticized, spread it about, saying: "How can the group of six monks wear an extra robe?" Then these monks told this matter to the Lord. Then the Lord, on this occasion, having given reasoned talk, addressed the monks, saying:

"Monks, an extra robe should not be worn; whoever should wear one should be dealt with according to the rule."

Now at that time an extra robe accrued to the venerable Ananda; and the Venerable Ananda wanted to give this robe to the venerable Sāriputta, but the venerable Sāriputta was staying at Sāketa. Then it occurred to the venerable Ananda: "It is laid down by the Lord that an extra robe should not be worn. And this extra robe has accrued to me, and I want to give this robe to the venerable Sāriputta, but the venerable Sāriputta is staying at Sāketa. Now what line of conduct should be followed by me?" Then the venerable Ananda told this matter to the Lord. He said:

[47] Ibid., p. 411.

"But how long, Ananda, before Sāriputta will come here?"

"Lord, on the ninth or tenth day," he said.

The Lord, on this occasion, having given reasoned talk, addressed the monks, saying:

"I allow you, monks, to wear an extra robe for at most ten days."

Now at that time an extra robe accrued to monks. Then it occurred to these monks: "Now what line of conduct should be followed in regard it an extra robe?" They told this matter to the Lord. He said: "I allow you, monks, to assign an extra robe."[48]

The passage indicates that the Buddha established three robes as the norm to meet conditions that arose in the course of his own experience, and provided a way by which monks could dispose of extra robes they happened to acquire. Conditions in China differed, and so demanded a change in monastic clothing.

Robes in China are called Chia-Sha (袈裟), from the Sanskrit *kachaya*. The term which refers to the most important ceremonial robe, worn by all ordained monks when they participate in group, processions or other activities of a ritualistic character, and robes used for ordinary worship in the Buddha Hall or Ta-Tien (大殿). A number of patterns of the Chia-Sha (袈裟) are found. All are hung and fastened over the left shoulder and go under the right armpit, leaving the right shoulder uncovered. All made of smaller rectangular pieces, the size and number of which may serve, though only to a very limited extent, as an in indication of the rank of the wearer.[49] Patterns vary as follows:

[48] Ibid., p. 411-412.

[49] Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*. (Hong Kong: Honk Kong University, 1967), p. 374.

1. The Tai-I (大衣) , The Big Robe (Picture 1), of which three subdivision are found:

a. The Tsu-I (祖衣), The Patriarchs' Robe (Picture 1).[50] This is made up of sometimes more but never less than 130 pieces. It may only be worn by the abbot and by Fa-Shih (法師) of special standing. All the pieces are plain, without any symbols or patterns embroidered upon them. The individual pieces as well as the seams along the enclosing border are outlined with gold. [51]

b. The Wan-Tzu-I (萬字衣), The Robe of 10,000-characters (Picture 2). This robe is only worn by those who hold the highest positions in the monastery, and only on especially solemn occasions. It is distinguishable by the Shou (壽), which decorates in its conventionalized form all or several of the small pieces of which the robe is composed. There are seven rows of these with 21/2 pieces in each.[52]

c. The Ch'ien-Fo-I (千佛衣), The Robe of the 1,000-Buddhas. This Chia-Sha is used only on very special occasions by the abbot and the highest leaders of a monastery. Each piece contains a protruding, embroidered Buddha-head.[53]

2. The Ch'i-I (七衣), The Robe of Seven Parts (Picture 4). This Chia-Sha may be used by all fully ordained monks from the youngest to the most venerable and highest of abbot; it is the common Chia-Sha.[54]

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[50] Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*. (Hong Kong: Honk Kong University, 1967), Ibid., p. 374.

[51] Ibid., p. 374.

[52] Ibid., p. 374.

[53] Ibid., p. 374.

[54] Ibid., p. 374.

3. The Wu-I (五衣), The Robe of Five Parts (Picture 5). This Chia-Sha is used by ordinary lay brethren, Chu-Shih (居士), those who have taken the first five of the ten fundamental vows and, being unable to enter monastic life, have joined vegetarian associations near their homes.

These patterns of the Chia-Sha used the Nine Degrees of Official Rank, known as Chiu-P'in (九品), a system of classification, which for officials is said date back to the Han Dynasty and which was later adopted by Buddhism. In the Chiao-Ch'eng-Fa-Shu we find the Ta-I-Chiu-P'in (大衣九品), The Nine Degrees of the Chia-Sha. Three divisions are given: Hsia or Lower, Chung or Middle, and Shang or Upper, each of which is again divided into three, Lower, Middle and Upper. The lowest of the degrees, Hsia Hsia (下下), has 9 stripes. Each succeeding degree has two more, so that the highest, Shang Shang (上上), has 25 stripes. In the lowest group each stripe is divided into 2 1/2 pieces; in the middle group it is divided into 31/2 pieces; in the highest group there are 4 1/2 pieces in each stripe.[55]

The robe which in China characteristerizes its wearer as a Buddhist monk more than any other garment is the Azure Ocean, the Pao-Tzu (袍子)[56] (Picture F), the Long Outer Garment, also known as the Hai-Ch'ing (海清),[57] meaning Azure Ocean. It is wide and richly folded and has as its distinctive feature, apart from its "Buddhist" collar, the long, wide sleeve which hangs down from the forearm.[58] It is worn in public, at official occasions and at all activities which require full attire but do not necessitate the

[55] Ibid., p.374-375.
[56] Ibid., p. 375.
[57] Ibid., p. 375.
[58] Ibid., p. 375.

Chia-Sha. When the Chia-Sha is worn, it is worn over the Hai-Ch'ing, which is not in itself a sacral vestment--so that even Shamis (沙彌) may wear it.

When a monk does not act as a leader, performing his official duties, but attends to commonplace work, he wears the ordinary Ch'ang-Kua (長掛), the Long Outer Garment. This is also called Ta-Kua (大掛), the Big Outer Garment.[59] Its long sleeves are narrower than those of the Hai-Ch'ing. This robe differs from the ordinary Ch'ang-Kua worn by any Chinese layman only in the cut of the collar, which leaves the throat open and is a typical feature of all Buddhist dress. When a monk is in the privacy of his room, he wears the Ch'ien-Lan-Kua (伽藍掛), the Monastic Robe, which is semi-wide and sleeveless. It may be worn by all ordained monks.

Where the Buddha only allowed his disciples have three robes, Chinese monks have a variety depending on their actions, and the nature of the occasion they are dressing for. However, the Robe of Seven Parts and the Robe of Five Parts are the same for the original Buddhists and for Chinese Ch'an Buddhists. In more than a thousand years, Ch'an monastic has changed considerably to meet Chinese custom.

B. The Robes-Material

When the Buddha was alive, monks dyed the fabrics for robes with dung and with yellow clay, which produced an unseemly color. When they informed the Buddha

[59] Ibid., p. 375.

of this, he said: "I allow you, monks, six kind of dyes: dye from roots, dye from stems, dye from bark, dye from leaves, dye from flowers, dye from fruits."[60]

When the monks dyed the fabric with cold water, the material came to smell badly. They told this matter to the Buddha, and he said: "I allow you, monks, a little dye-pot in which to boil the dye."[61] When they tried using the pot, the dye dripped down on one side. The Buddha said: "I allow you to dye it, turning it and turning it, and not go away if the drips have not ceased." In their efforts, they spilled the dye by accident. They went to inform the Buddha, and he said: "I allow you, monks, to arrange a basin to prevent the dye from spilling." The next time they tried their hand, the fabric became stiff. The Buddha said: "I allow you to put it into water." This, unfortunately, made the fabric harsh. The Buddha said: "I allow you to beat it with the hands."[62] In this way the monks learned to dye their robes.

At that time the monks wore robes of full-length fabric, not cut up. People criticized them, saying: "[they are] like householders who enjoy the pleasures of the senses." The monks informed the Buddha, and he said: "Monks, robes that are not cut up are not to be worn. Whoever should wear one is guilty of an offense."[63]

Through many experiments, finally the monks learned to make fine robes. Still the Buddha was concerned not to make them an appealing color, seeing that people might question their spiritual commitments. Consequently the monks continued to mix a

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[60] I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline: Vinaya-Pitaka.* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982), vol. IV, p. 405.

[61] Ibid., p. 405.

[62] Ibid., p.406-407.

[63] Ibid., p. 407.

little cow dung into the dye. Because asceticism was not a Buddhist ideal of the same nature in China, Chinese Buddhists discontinued the use of dung in dying robes. Rather they sought the respect of the population through producing robes of distinction and beauty. They used cotton mixed with the black ink and other natural colors. During the T'ang Dynasty, robes were donated by rulers; their color was golden yellow, which meant that monks' status was the same as Emperor, who himself wore golden yellow when he went to the Court Hall.

C. Begging Bowls

The Sanskrit term pātra, or bowl, refers specifically in Buddhism to an alms bowl or begging-bowl. When the Buddha was alive, he and his disciples went to the streets begging alms food using the bowl. Chinese monastic histories, however, record that very few clerics begged for survival. Most of Chinese monks abandoned the alms collecting tradition.[64] Contrary to the Indian practice, a monastic kitchen were established in monasteries.[65]

When the Buddha was alive, he did not allow monks to use various kinds of bowls, made of wood, gold, silver, pearls, berry, crystal, bronze, glass, tin, lead, and copper,[66] believing that people would criticize them as being like householders who enjoy pleasures of the senses.[67] He allowed the monks to use only two kinds of bowls:

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64 Edited by Charles Wei-Hsun Fu and Sandra A.Wawrytko (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), p.114.

65 Ibid., p. 114.

66 I.B. Horner, Ibid., vol. V, p. 152.

67 Ibid., vol. V, p. 152.

an iron bowl and a clay bowl (Picture 1),[68] and two kinds of circular bowl-rests: made of tin, and made of lead.[69] He also allowed monks a bag in which to carry their bowls (also see Picture 1). There were three sizes for a bowl: a large bowl, a medium-sized bowl, a small bowl. A large bowl took half an *alhaka* of rice. A medium bowl's measure took a *nalika* of boiled rice, or a quarter of a nalika if uncooked rice. A small bowl took *patta* of boiled rice, or a quarter patta if uncooked rice. A vessel greater than a large bowl or smaller than a small bowl was not considered a bowl by Buddhist definition.[70] When the Buddha was alive, monks kept an extra bowl, for which some householders criticized them.[71]

When monks went in search of alms with a begging bowl, they would stand in silence in front of the donor's door. If they were given something, they were to accept it regardless of quality or quantity. If they were not given anything, they were not to feel displeasure, sadness or frustration. When they were given something, they were not to look at the donor's face, nor to try to find out whether it was a man or woman. They were to wear their robes correctly when begging, and to make certain their robes were clean. As they walked on their begging rounds, they were to control their senses and practice mindfulness (Vinaya II 215-216, M III 293). They were not to sit down in the donor's house while on a begging tour (Vinaya IV 94). This last rule was intended to prevent improper friendships arising between monks and their male or female benefactors.[72] At the time of Buddha, some Brahmins who joined the Order in their old

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[68] Ibid., vol. V, p. 152.

[69] Ibid., vol. V, p. 152.

[70] Charles Wei-Hsun Fu, Ibid., p. 115.

[71] I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline--Vinaya-Pitaka*. (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982) vol. II, P.113.

[72] Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life: According to the Texts of the Theravada Tradition.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990),

age did not want to beg (Vinaya I 57), but they nonetheless had to conform to the customs of the Sangha. The Buddha believed that begging was the "right livelihood for renouncers."[73]

Chinese monks, by contrast, used the bowl only during the full ordination ceremony, when they performed one symbolic day of begging on the street. However, the Ch'an sect still follows the Buddha's rule of using a clay begging bowl. Ch'an monastic practice has abandoned begging both because it earns disrespect in Chinese culture, and because the weather did not always accommodate it. That Chinese and Indian Buddhism's developed different practices concerning begging is due to the different social values of the two societies.

During meals, most of monasteries use dishes rather than the begging bowl, which is, however, kept in a particular place.[74] While eating, monks and nuns must not use loud voices and must concentrate their minds. The most important ritual purpose of eating is to rid monks' desire for delicious food, but to concentrate on food as nourishment for the body, which is necessary to attain enlightenment.[75] The simplicity of monastic living transforms eating into a symbol of wisdom.

P. 59-60.

73 Ibid., p. 59.

74 Pian-chi-tsu. *The Life of Chinese Sangha. Hsiang-Kwan Chunag-Yen*. vol. 79, 1994, p.8.

75 Pian-chi-tsu. *Three Thouasnd Ritula and Manner. Hsiang-Kwan Chunag-Yen.* vol. 40, Dec. 1994, p. 17.

5. Ch'an Training

Hearing our self-nature forms a central purpose of Ch'an training. This training takes place in a Ch'an T'ang, a Ch'an Hall. Fundamentally the Ch'an Hall is not localized in space and time, and Ch'an does not mean sitting in meditation. The so-called Ch'an hall and the so-called Ch'an sitting are only provided for people who encounter insurmountable obstructions on their own and who lack wisdom--something all to commonplace in this period of decadence of the Dharma. When one practices sitting meditation, the aim is control of the body and mind. In the Ch'an hall, when incense sticks are burned for walking or sitting, the aim is to ensure the control of body and mind. Besides this, there are many ways to control body and mind.

When the Ch'an sitting (in meditation) becomes effective, there are mental states too many to enumerate. A proverb says: "Don't wonder at the wonderful and the wonderful will be in full retreat." [76] Even if you see evil spirits of all kinds coming to disturb you or the Buddha, one should take no notice of them, and not be afraid of them. It is written in the Śūraṅgama Sūtra: "A perfect state is that in which the mind is undisturbed by the saintly; an interpretation of the saintly is entanglement with all demons."[77]

Ch'an sitting meditation routine traditionally takes place just after noon meals. After the monks finish their meal in the dining hall, they enter the meditation hall in ones and twos, usually in no kind of order, and immediately took their places in one of two rings marching around the central shrine. A monk encircling the two rings beats the

[76] Lu-K'uan Yu, *Ch'an and Zen Teaching* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, Inc. 1993), vol. 1, p. 36.

[77] Ibid., p. 36.

floor from time to time with a long split bamboo rod, to mark time and to number the circumambulations. The Wei-Na (維那),[78] who is a leader in the Ch'an hall, marches around with the monks carrying a Hsiang-Pan (香板, Picture C) on his right shoulder. The march which starts fairly quick becomes quicker, following instructions from the Wei-Na, when the Hsiang-Pan falls on the shoulders of those within his reach. The rapid march increases to running. Ten two beats on the board of the Chung-Pan (鐘板) bring the whole group to an immediate hall. The specific Buddhist term for these circumambulations is Hsing-Hsiang (行香). After this the monks of the two parties go to their respective places, sit down and take off their shoes without noise (Meditation room, Picture) and without using their hands. Then they arrange their shoes neatly on the shelves below their seats, using their feet. Afterwards they sit quietly on the benches in meditation pose. The Wei-Na, from time to time, gives instructions from his seat in a low, quiet voice as to how to meditate.

Two strokes are given on the board by the Yeah-Chung-Shih (閱眾師), the monks in temporary charge of the beating of the Chung-Pan. These are answered by two beats of the stick on the floor. The instructions cease and the circumambulations begin once more, accelerating as before. At the signal of one stroke on the board all the monks stand still where they are and remain in complete silence for a time. Then the Ch'an master walks around outside the circles in a direction opposite to the circumambulation (i.e. anti-clock-wise), carrying his Hisang-Pan on his shoulder. As the Ch'an master does, this the monks with the bamboo rod go out of the hall and stand outside the door, to the master's temporary office, for holding which he bears the title, San-Hsiang-Shih (散香師, Picture D and E), the bamboo rod being called the San-

[78] Wei-Na who is a group leader charges during the worship in Ch'an Hall.

Hsiang.[79] The Wei-Na then stops at this own place and strikes the handle end of his Hsiang-Pan three times against the floor. This is answered by the sound of the stick outside the door. This signal means monks are to exit the Ch'an hall.[80] The Wei-Na also goes out and places himself outside the door. facing it, with the monk with the bamboo rod on his right. The Wei-Na then walks around the courtyard, and the monk with the rod stands side of the entrance, following the Wei-Na when he returns and enters the hall. The San-Hsiang-Shih is the last monk to re-enter the hall.

In the meditation hall there is another monk, called the Hsun-Hsiang-Shih[81](巡香師, Picture C) when he holds the temporary office known by that name. He takes a Hsiang- Pan standing the altar and holds one end with the first and third fingers of his right hand on the edges just below the handle, and rests it in the tip of the second finger, with the other end resting on his ear (Picture C). He then goes to the monks Wei-Na's seat and from there he walks round the whole hall, keeping close to the benches. His first perambulation is counter clock-wise. He halts in front of the entrance door, facing the altar and stands with his back to the almost closed door, holding his Hsiang-Pan with both hands (Picture 5). Here he stands in profound silence.[82]

In the Ch'an-T'ang (meditation hall) there are further routine meditation hours during the morning, afternoon and evening, differing in duration. The Chung-Pan is beaten, to begin the meditation. The meditation period after breakfast occupies about

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[79] Johannes Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhsit Monasteries.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1967), p. 77.

[80] The signal informs those monks is the time to go to the toilet.

[81] Johannes Prip-Moller, Ibid., p. 77.

[82] Ibid., p. 77.

three and a half hours, that after the noon meal one hour, and the one in the evening about two hours.[83]

The morning meditation begins with the exercise, Hsing-Hsiang (行香), walking meditation or P'ao-Hsiang (跑香), slow runing meditation, which lasts half an hour. Then follows the sitting meditation, Tso-Hsiang (坐香), which lasts for one hour. This is followed by a period of rest, which lasts for some ten minutes and is followed by half an hour's exercise. The period concludes with approximately ten minutes of meditation and about an hour of rest.[84]

The Ch'an hall sometimes has seats for two or more leaders, and sometimes for only one. In the latter case the seat will be for the Wei-Na, who is called the Tso-Ch'an-Chu (坐禪主), the head of seat-meditation, the Master of Meditation, according to the 25th commandment of the Brahmajāla-Sūtra (梵網經). His seat is always to the right, just inside the door. If a second officer attends, his seat will be inside the door to the left. His title is T'ang-Chu (堂主), the head of Ch'an Hall, and he acts as the assistant of the Wei-Na. If the hall is on the side of the monastic layout, these officers and a group of others connected with the Ch'an T'ang will have their living quarters in the separate premises of which the hall is the centre.[85] The titles of these officers are as follows: Shou-Tso (首座), Hsi-T'ang (西堂) and Hou-T'ang (後堂). Together with the T'ang-Chu (堂主) they form a group called the Hsi-Shou (西首).[86] All the above tittles are interpreted in Chapter 4. They are also known as Leaders of the West, a name probably dating from a time when the meditation hall was placed to west of, that is outside the

[83] Ibid., p. 77.
[84] Ibid., p. 77.
[85] Ibid., p. 77.
[86] Ibid., p. 77.

monastic premises. In the monastery, one person holds the office of Shou- Tao (首座), at which time three or four monks hold the titles of Hsi-T'ang (西堂) and Hou-T'ang (後堂), and as many as four or five act as T'ang-Chus (堂主). These officers are technically superior in rank to the Ch'an Master, but the latter is in charge of the daily work in the Ch'an hall and is the immediate leader of the monks living in it.[87]

III. The Life of the Ch'an Hall

A. A Daily Life

All that really matters in Buddhism, in Ch'an, is enlightenment, which in essence has little to do with monastic organization, daily routines, and the cultural artifacts of the religion.[88] However the regimens of monastic life--and the entire cultural context of Buddhist training--do interact directly with doctrine and practice. The monks do come to realize their enlightenment through the daily routine of the monastery.[89] They come to train not only their minds but the four areas of their deportment, traditionally named as walking, standing, sitting and lying--so that they learn to walk like the wind, stand like palm trees, sit like clocks and lie down like bows.[90] The significance of Buddhist teaching and meditative techniques must be viewed from within the context of monasticism.

The Meditation Hall is a practice place for monks and is generally a rectangular building of variable size according to the number of monks to be accommodated. The

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87 Ibid., p. 79.

88 JR. Buswell, & E. Robert, *The Zen Monatic Experience*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992). p. 9.

89 Ibid., p.9.

90 Pian-chi-tsu. *Three Thousand Manners and Ritual.* Hsiang-Kwan Chuang-Yen. vol. 40, Dec. 1994, p. 15.

Hall generally contains wooden tablets inscribed with the words, "The Hall of the Eye of the Right Dharma (Plate 24)," because the Hall is intended for opening the Dharma-eye of those who use. A square board kept in the Hall is struck for various purposes: to call monks to meals, lectures and services, or to indicate that meditation hour has begun or ended. The board reads:

"Birth and death are grave events;
How transient is life!
Every minute is to be grudged,
Time waits for nobody."[91]

A wooden tablet over the entrance contains the regulations of the Hall. The interior of the Hall is furnished with raised platforms called which run along the longer sides. At one end of the room is a shrine, oblong in shape, which opens towards the front entrance. The central area of the floor is used for an exercise called walking exercise (Ching-Hsing 經行, Plate 26), which consists in circulating single file along the *tan*. This is practiced at definite intervals during the meditation hours. This walking helps to keep the monks' minds from falling into a state of torpidity. When the hour to sleep comes, which is ordinarily about 9 p.m., monks lie down in one row (Plate 28). The Chih-jih, who directs every movement of the monks in the Hall--it is the most important office in the Ch'an monastery--when he sees them all quiet under the futon, puts away his staff of administration, or awakening sign, Ching-ts'e (警策, Plate 28). When this is all done, he himself goes under a scanty futon. The one in the plate 28 who sits on the opposite tan is called Tan-T'ou (壇頭), meaning the "head of the tan."

Regarding monks' sleep, a variety of schedules may be followed. They may decide at the beginning of a retreat, for example, to ignore the evening gong and

[91] Suzuki, D. T. *The Training if the Zen Buddhist Monk.* (New York: University Books, 1965), p. 91.

continue practicing as a group until ten, eleven, or even twelve at night.[92] Or they may sleep from 9 p.m. till about 3.30 in the morning.[93] For sleeping, each monk is given one broad quilt wadded with cotton-wool, which is about six feet square in size. They wrap themselves in this only, even in the midst of the cold winter.[94] For a pillow they use the pair of small cushions, each about two feet square, on which during the daytime they sit. After monks wake up in the morning, they put their bedding in a common area up above (Plate 27).[95]

Monks generally sleep in one place, a practice which has been kept from the T'ang Dynasty through the Ch'ing Dynasty and until today. Originally, the precepts relating to sleep for monks included a rule about sleeping on a tiny bed, but this rule at some point ceased to be followed, and is not held today. Many rules continue as they were in the time of the Buddha. A tiny bed should be made a specific size according to the Vinaya. According to rule 84, monks and lay people who practice the Bodhisattva Precepts are to make beds whose should be made about eight fingers measure high and wide.[96] The purpose and implication of using this simple tiny bed is to reduce one's pleasure of the senses and sexual desire. This precept is also included in the ten precepts, which are observed by monks and nuns and lay Buddhists.

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[92] Ibid., p. 176.

[93] D. T. Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk.* (New York: University Books New York, 1965), p. 93

[94] Ibid., p. 93.

[95] Ibid., p. 93.

[96] Charles S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskirt Pratimoksa Sutta of the Mahasamghikas and Mulassarvastivadins.* (New York: The Institude for Advaced Studies of World Religions, 1975), p. 90.

In the *Vinaya-Pitaka, On Lodgings,* the reasons for sleeping rules are explained. The Buddha says, "I allow you, monks, to have a grass matting." The grass matting is eaten by rats and white ants. The Buddha says, "I allow you, monks, to have a solid bench." Because of the solid bench their limbs become painful, so that the Buddha decrees, "I allow you, monks, to have a little couch of split bamboo." Then a bier like long couch was given to the Order. When the disciples informed the Buddha of this fact, he said: "I allow you, monks, to have a long couch, have a long chair, have a chair with removable legs, have a rectangular chair, even a tall rectangular chair, a three-sided couch, even have a tall three sided couch, the stalks of the embolic myrobalan chair, a wooden chair, a straw chair." When at that time the group of six monks lay down to sleep on high couches, people told this matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said, "Monks, you should not lie down to sleep on high couches. You should sleep on a support for a couch which is eight-finger-breadths at the most."[97] At that time monks could use many things for sleeping, such as matting, wooden chairs or straw chairs or couches. The Buddha made rules according to events which arose and under various circumstances.

Sleeping postures are guided in the *Mara Sutra:* "When the Buddha had walked about for a great part of the night, he washed his feet, entered his cell, and took the lion's lying posture on his right side, placing one foot above the other, considering, mindful and deliberate, with the idea of rising up again."[98] Further direction is found in the *Mahaparinbbana Sutra*: "Ananda," the Buddha says, "prepare me a bed between these twin śāla trees with my head to the north. I am tired and want to lie down on the right

[97] Translated by Davids Rhys, *The Book of the Kindred Saying: Sanyutta-Nikaya.* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979), p. 208-210.

[98] Ibid., p. 134.

side in the lion-posture, placing one foot on the other, mindful and clearly aware."[99] This sleeping posture, which is wholesome and informed by the Buddha's knowledge of the body's physical needs, is standard for monks and nuns. Modern science has also proven that the right sleeping posture is essential to good health. It also aids in concentrating the mind, in achieving "Right Thought," part of the Noble Eightfold Path which includes Right Understanding, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration, and which is one of the major teachings of Buddhism.

The *Mahasamghika-Bhiku-Vinaya Sutra* contains further advice from the Buddha concerning sleeping posture: "Monks, do not lie down in the Asuras posture, in the hungry ghosts posture, or in the greedy person posture. If you lie with your face up, this is called the Asuras posture. If you lie with your face down posture, this is called the hungry ghosts posture. If you lie down on your left side, this is called the greedy person posture. A monk should lie down in the lion-king-protected-body posture. Monks...use your right hand as your pillow, place your one foot on the other, and put your left hand upon the body. Then set your tongue on the roof of your mouth, and be mindful and deliberate. You, monks shall lie down in this proper posture."[100]

B. Retreats

At first, the Buddha and his disciples had no fixed abode, and never stayed long in the same place. The Vinaya shows how the Buddha traveled around the central region

[99] Translated by Maurice Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discurses of the Buddha Digha Nikaya.* (London: Wisdom Publication London, 1987), p.262.

[100] Juniro Takakusu, Edited. *Mahasamgika-Vinaya-Bukhu: Precepts* (摩訶僧祇律卷第35), T 22, p. 507.

of North India, often with a large group of disciples, but sometimes with only a few, or just one, usually Ananda, and sometimes alone. The Buddha traveled during the day, and at night, and he received lodging in potter's huts or in the town meeting hall, which was open to monks and nuns and other ascetics to pass the night on their travels. Besides this, he also stayed in forests. There were also public parks, such as Ambalathika in Rajagaha, where he stayed in resting places for wandering ascetics. When Buddha stayed in those places, he had an opportunity to meet and speak with ascetics and those from other religious traditions.

After the Buddha became enlightened, he told his small group of followers, the first five disciples: "Take to the road. Travel for the good of the many. Travel for the happiness of the many out of compassion for the world. Travel for the good, benefit and happiness of men and gods, and to preach the Doctrine."[101] When in the course of traveling the Buddha and his disciples met other ascetics, people criticized the Buddha for letting monks and nuns travel during the rainy season, and in summer and winter. Many complained: "How is it that these ascetics, the sons of the Sakyans,[102] keep on traveling during the summer, winter and also in the rainy season? They tread on young plants and damage them, and destroy many small living creatures. Those who belong to other schools may not be very well-disciplined, but at least they withdraw somewhere to make residence for the rainy season; birds make their nests in the tree-tops and use them to live in during the rainy season. But these ascetics, the sons of the Sakyans, don't stop traveling during the summer, winter or the rainy season."[103] Some monks informed the

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101 I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline: Vinaya-Pitaka*. (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982), Vol. I, p. 20-21.

102 Sakyans is Buddha's last name. People called the Buddha was Sakyans.

103 I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline: Vinaya-Pitaka*. (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982), Vol. I, p. 137.

Buddha, who delivered a sermon: "Monks, you should observe a retreat during the rainy season... monks observing the rainy season retreat must not travel before completing the retreat."[104] The rainy season lasted four months, from June to October. Monks and nuns were thereby forbidden to travel during the rainy season. This retreat has persisted into modern Buddhism in the form of what came to be called a "tranquil dwelling."

During the lifetime of the Buddha, monks and nuns were required to stay for the three months of the retreat in almost any location. They were forbidden to observe the retreat in the open air, in a hollow tree, in a graveyard, under an umbrella, or in an earthward salt-jar,[105] according to the statement of the precept. Other places where they could settle included a boat or with a merchant caravan, which shows that they were permitted to spend their retreat with lay people during the rainy season. Some lay people built cells to house one or two monks or nuns. Sometimes cells were built in the forest, next to the river, or in a village or town.[106] The retreat thus gave monks and nuns an opportunity to meet people and to teach.

At the end of rainy season retreat, the monks would take down their cells and begin traveling. Some monks, obviously, preferred to stay put even after the retreat. For example, the monk Dhaniya did not take down his beautiful cell, but wanted to live in it during the summer. The Buddha and his disciples disapproved of his intention, and he was obligated to abandon it. As a result of this incident rules were laid down forbidding monks and nuns not to travel after the retreat.[107] Although the life of

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104 I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline: Vinaya-Pitaka--Magavagga*. (London: The Pali Text Society, 1982), Vol. I, p. 152.

105 Ibid., p. 152.

106 Ibid., p. 152.

107 Ibid., p. 65.

Buddhist monks was a nomadic one, in the course of their travels they also had periods of sedentary life. The sedentariness followed from the custom of staying in a fixed lived during the rainy season, and secondly, increased the number of lay people concerned for the well-being of the Sangha.

Traveling for a monk did not mean walking constantly day and night. When a group of monks arrived in a town or a village, they sometimes stayed for several days or weeks, as long as there were people to listen to the Buddha's teaching. Sometimes monks would go to where wealthy lay people lived. Sometimes the Buddha and his disciples would stay for a few days in an ascetic's hermitage or in a public place in the town; even outside the rainy season they had to find a quiet place to spend the night.

The manner in which these customs were followed changed in accordance with Chinese culture and the different weather patterns in China. In India the retreat was held between June to October. Chinese Buddhism followed the precept by holding retreat sessions, one in the summer, the other in winter.[108] The Sanskrit *varasas* means tranquil dwelling, the term by which the retreat came to be known.

According to general convention, monasteries' tranquil dwelling was scheduled according to the Chinese Lunar Calendar from April 16 to July 15. This Summer Tranquil Dwelling was also called Summer Sitting or Sitting Summer. The beginning of the period was called Chieh-Hsia (結夏), and the ending was called An-Chü-Ching (安居竟) or Chieh-Hsia (解夏). Winter Tranquil Dwelling was ran between October 15 and January 15 of the following year. The beginning of the period was called Chieh-Tung

108 Ching-Lin Wong, *The Life of Monks and Nuns of Chinese Ancient.* (Taipei: Oxford Publishing, 1992), p. 121.

(結冬) and the end of period was called Chieh-Tung (解冬). During the Ch'ing Dynasty, Master I-Jun, in the *Pai-Chang Ts'ung-Lin Ch'ing-Kuei Chêng-i Chi* mentioned the scheduling as follows: "Ts'ung-lin's Summer Tranquil Dwelling began from April 15, and the period's end should be on July 15 now; and the Winter Tranquil Dwelling should begin from October 15, and the end on January 15. ...These rules have been followed for a long time, and should be adapted according to the environment. This rule has been used for more than a thousand years. It is a monastic regulation."[109] However, this tranquil dwelling is not merely a regulation or system, but is part of monastic custom and culture. For many Ch'an monks, the period of tranquil dwelling is one of intense training of the mind and conduct.[110]

During the period of tranquil dwelling, all monasteries completely suspend all other activities. All implements and supplies for the period are stored away beforehand. Monasteries would close all activities and do not allow outsiders to visit. The focus is solely upon practicing Ch'an and mindfulness and cultivating a tranquil dwelling in life.[111]

In order to help monks and nuns to settle down their minds and practice, this period of the regulation is very strict. *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei Chêng-i Chi* says: "All monks in the tranquil dwelling period must not engage in idle talk, or go out. If one commits an offense, that person must be separated; one who breaks *sila* should be punished... If one does not follow the group routine, [he or she] should be punished according to the regulation."[112] During the tranquil dwelling period, except for Triple

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109 I-Jun. *Pai-Chang Ts'ung-Lin Ch'ing-Kuei Cheng-I Chi.* (Taipei: Repinted by the White Horse of Monastery), HTC 63, p. 499c.

110 Ching-Lin Wong, p. 121.

111 Ching-Lin Wong, p. 122.

112 I-Jun. HTC 63, p. 501b.

Jewel affair, parents' affair, and illness affair, monks and nuns are not allowed to leave the monastery.[113]

During the tranquil dwelling period, the monks should concentrate their minds and practice. The retreats offer a advanced courses and deep training. According to the *Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei*, the Summer Tranquil Dwelling can be divided into practice-doors and interpretation-doors. The practice-doors include 1) sitting meditation; one who is used to meditation, must continue to practice; 2) chanting the Buddha's name; one who does not practice sitting meditation, must chant the Buddha's name--even avoiding talking with others, but rather chanting.[114] The interpretation-doors include 1) sermons from the abbot or an assistant of the abbot; 2) discussions of the Vinaya and Sastras in order to help the monks study the sutras and sastras, and teach them other daily rituals.[115]

Summer and Winter Tranquil Dwellings differ considerably. These differences are treated below.

1. The Summer Tranquil Dwelling

The Summer Tranquil Dwelling occurs according to Chinese lunar calendar, in which December 16 to April 15 is Spring season, April 16 to August 15 is Summer season, and from August 16 to December 15 is Winter season. Tranquil Dwelling in India is just 90 days, which corresponds Chinese Lunar calendar's Summer season of

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113 Pien-chi-tsu. *Summer Tranquil Dwelling. Hsiang-kwan Chung-yen*, vol. 39, Sept. 1994, p. 12-25.

114 Ibid., p. 15.

115 Ibid., p. 15.

three months. Therefore, Chinese monasteries' summer tranquil dwelling lasts three months; the period is from April 16 to July 15.[116]

Generally the Tranquil Dwelling begins on April 16, but may be postponed if special conditions arise. The Summer Tranquil Dwelling is divided into three sections, the Front Tranquil Dwelling, beginning from April 16, the Middle Tranquil Dwelling, from April 17 to May 15, and the Rear Tranquil Dwelling, beginning from May 16.[117] The tranquil dwelling cannot last less than 90 days. Therefore, the day of beginning the tranquil dwelling cannot be later than May 16, because India's summer season is from April 16 to August 15, or four months, but the Chinese tranquil dwelling lasts only three months. April 16 to May 16 counts as only one month. The retreat may begin on any day in this month, but the retreat should end by August 15 or before. It should be held for 90 days.[118] The schedules of most monasteries are based on adopting the Front Tranquil Dwelling as the determining factor. The Middle Tranquil Dwelling is only offered those monks who cannot come on time.

2. The Winter Tranquil Dwelling

Where the Summer Tranquil Dwelling follows the ancient Indian Buddhist system, but the Winter Tranquil Dwelling was developed in China by the Ch'an school, based on the model of the Summer Tranquil Dwelling. The Winter Tranquil Dwelling lasts three months, during which time monks cannot leave the monastery, cannot

116 Ching-Lin Wong, p. 123.
117 Ibid., p. 123.
118 Ibid., p. 124.

welcome wandering monks, etc. The Winter Tranquil Dwelling's content and method are also the same as the Summer Tranquil Dwelling.

The Winter Tranquil Dwelling begins on October 15. Every morning, the leader, Wei-Na (維那), who leads the group in chanting and mediation, invites the abbot to give a sermon. During the evening, the Wei-Na invites all monks to go the Chai-T'ang (齋堂), the dining room in Buddhist monastery, to have a P'u-Ch'a (普茶), or tea service. In the ritual of the P'u-Ch'a, the Wei-Na informs the gathering of the living rules and Ch'an-T'ang rules, and interprets the progress of the Winter Tranquil Dwelling at the beginning of the Ch'an-Ch'i, (禪七), or week of mediation practice.[119]

The most important affair in the Winter Tranquil Dwelling is the Ch'an-Ch'i (禪七), the seven days' meditation. The Ch'an-Ch'i also called Ta-Ch'i (打七) meaning seven day period for sitting in Ch'an (meditation). "Sitting Ch'an" (坐禪) is a central component of monastic daily life--but not the only one, so that meditation does not go on for too long. In order that monks attain enlightenment and reach their goal, the monastery usually begins to lengthen the amount of sitting starting on September 15, sitting Ch'an for longer and longer periods until the Winter Tranquil Dwelling comes. During this period the monastery is emphasizes this practice; the main affair is putting away other activities and focus on "Sitting Ch'an".

Not every monastery begins the Winter Tranquil Dwelling's Ch'an-Ch'i on the same day. While most begin on October 15, some hold a sitting Ch'an session for forty-nine days, until January 8, the end of the session known as Chieh-Ch'i (解七).[120] Ch'an-

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119 Ching-Lin Wong, p. 126-127.
120 Ibid., p. 127.

Ch'i (禪七) is flexible, and can be offered at any time. Characteristically Ch'an-Ch'i is invites outside Ch'an practitioners to join this Winter Tranquil Dwelling[121]--but only monks. No nuns are allowed to enter the Ch'an-T'ang.[122] The practice thus discriminates against females.

January 15, the ending of the Ch'an-Ch'i, is known as the Chieh-T'ung (解冬). After the end of Winter Tranquil Dwelling, if a monk wishes to search for another master, he informs the abbot at that time and then leaves the monastery. If he goes without telling the abbot, he will not be allowed to enter the monastery again.[123]

During the Ch'ing Dynasty some monasteries only offered the Winter Tranquil Dwelling but not the Summer Tranquil Dwelling. Since then monasteries generally have kept the Summer Tranquil Dwelling for teaching the sastras and the Vinaya, and the Winter Tranquil Dwelling for "Sitting Meditation (Ch'an)".[124]

III. Conclusion

This section discusses the most important part of Rule 7 of Pai-Chang's Pure Rule. P'u-Ch'ing (all invited) is repeatedly emphasized in Ch'an monastic discipline. Pai-Chang himself participated in all areas of manual labor alongside the other monks, even when he was very old. Although he did not, unlike other Ch'an masters, give many written teachings, the example he set for all monks through his own actions was a powerful teaching for succeeding generations.

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121 Ibid., p. 128.
122 Ibid., p. 128.
123 Ibid., p. 128.
124 Ibid., p. 129.

The methods of the practice of Ch'an (meditation) forms the major teaching and point of instruction in Ch'an monasticism. Its purpose is to cultivate monks to be spiritual awakening. A well-known story describes how Ch'an master Pai-Chang taught in the Ch'an community.

One day the community went out to work in the fields. When a monk heard the drumbeat, he held up his hoe, laughed heartily and returned to the monastery. Pai-Chang said: "What a remarkable thing! This is Avalokitevara's Dharma-door to enlightenment!" Afterwards Pai-Chang sent for the monk and asked him, "What have you seen today?" The monk replied, "I did not have any rice gruel this morning and when I heard the drumbeat I returned to take my meal." Pai-Chang gave a loud roar of laugher.[125]

Attaining concentration means, in the broadest sense, striving to follow the ancient path called the Tao. This means working hard and paying attention to our own minds. If we do so, the Tao will penetrate into our daily lives, and we will celebrate every morning and evening and not forget our regulations.[126] Not forgetting the regulations means not forgetting the Buddha-path which can lead us forward along a bright road and lead us toward release from birth-and-death.

The Supplemental Commentary of Record of the Monastic Pure Rule of Pai-Chang it is written:

> When the Buddha attained enlightenment he contemplated sentient beings and said that it is strange! All sentient beings possess unlimited wisdom and merit the

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125 K'uan-Yu Lu, *The Trasmission of the Mind Outside the Teaching.* (London: Rider & Company, 1974), p. 61-62.

126 Te-Hui. *The Imperial of Pure Rule of Pai-Chang.* (Taipei, Reprinted by the Monaster of White Horse), T 48, p. 1111a.

appearance of Tathagata. But they are full of defilement and attachment, so that they cannot attain arhantship. Seeing this, I know every one can attain this path. However, sentient beings don't attain because they indulge the objects of the five senses, which being dusty or earthly things can taint the true nature, creating desire and defilement. Therefore, sentient beings, although they hear the dharma, it is as if they are deaf and cannot hear drums and bells. Although they see the dharma, smell the dharma, read the scripture of dharma every day, they are like the blind who cannot see the sun and moon. They couldn't get any feeling. They are like a wooden men. They are like an idiots and even like mentally retarded people." [127]

This massage enables us to understand that although sentient beings penetrate the Dharma and hear the Dharma, they don't pay attention to their minds. How can they apply the Dharma to their daily lives? How can they enter the Dharma? How can they thoroughly practice the Dharma? Even after they enter the Sangha, some monks and nuns' minds and actions still stay at common peoples' low level. Their actions, bodies, and minds do not change or improve at all. Their attitude is far worse than those lay people who act properly and practice the actions of the Bodhisattva, and who hold the precepts. For such people even entering the Sangha and hearing the Dharma does not distinguish, help, and benefit them. This because the rules are not followed. Pai-Chang said that if we wish monasticism to develop and grow, monastic discipline must be emphasized, and practiced strictly every day in every monastery.[128] Thus the Pure Rule is exceedingly important. The monastic discipline is like a nation's laws. If the nation does not have proper laws, the nation will become confused. The nation will not be

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[127] I-Jun *The Supplemental Commentary Record of the Monastic Pure Rule of the Pai-Chang*.(Taipei: Reprinted by The Monastery of White Horse), HTC 63, p. 395b.

[128] Ibid., HTC 63, p. 395b.

stable and strong. If the Sangha does not have monastic discipline, it will develop poor organization, and monks and nuns will not be effective in their study, learning, and practice. When monastic discipline is not followed, the Dharma does not fit into minds, and efforts become useless.

Chapter 6

The Teaching and Practice of Ch'an Masters

I. The Teachings of Ch'an Masters

This chapter focuses on the lineage of the seven masters from Hui-Neng to Pai-Chang, the special master-student relationships that developed, and the wealth of teaching stories whose character has marked Ch'an practice demonstrably.

The background to these stories is the life of the Dharma Hall, Ch'an monasticism's educational center.[1] Here senior Ch'an masters provided dharma talks and guided all monks in their practice.[2] Every morning and evening, the director summoned the monks to the dharma hall. Unlike other schools, Ch'an did not traditionally have morning and evening sessions of chanting and bowing. Ch'an sermon are traditionally short, and full of meaning. A story describes how one day Ling-Yu was waiting for Pai-Chang when the latter asked him, "Who are you?" He replied, "It is Ling-Yu." Pai-Chang said, "poke and see if there is still some fire in the stove." Ling-Yu poked and said, "no fire." Pai-Chang rose from his seat and went to the stove; after much poking he succeeded in raising a small glow which he showed to Ling-Yu, asking, "is this not fire?" Thereupon Ling-Yu became enlightened;

1 Chi-Hui T'sai, *A Study of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang Huai-Hui*. (Master Thesis, Taipei: Politic University, 1991), p. 120.

2 Ibid., p. 121.

he bowed upon his knees to thank the master.[3] As he spoke of his understanding to Pai-Chang, he said, "this is only a temporary by-road. The sutra says, 'the perception of Buddha-nature depends on the moment, the direct cause and the intervening cause.'[4] When the time is ripe, one is like a deluded man who suddenly remembers. Only then can he attain the self-possessed (nature) which does not come from without."

A central theme of the Ch'an stories is the simultaneous distinction and lack of distinction between the enlightened and the unenlightened mind. The theme can be traced to the words of the Fifth Indian Patriarch, who said:

> After enlightenment it is the same as it was before,
> For there is neither mind nor Dharma.[5]

In *Essentials of the Transmission of the Mind,* Huang-Po says: "People in the world cannot identify their own mind. They are blocked by the visual, the auditory, the tactile, and the mental, so they cannot see the brilliant spirit of their original mind."[6] He further says: "This mind is illuminated, and pure as the Void, without form. Any thought deviates from the true source."[7] The "pure and illuminated" mind that Huang-Po refers to cannot be understood in any relative sense. He means absolute purity, beyond light or darkness. As he

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3 K'uan-Yu Lu, *Ch'an and Zen Teaching*. (Maine: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1993), vol. 2, p. 57-58.

4 Direct cause is the seed of Buddhahood inherent in the pupil and . intervening ause is his master's direct pointing at the mind.

5 Ibid., p. 58.

6 *Ching-teh Ch'uan-teng lu.* T 51, p. 245c-246b. quoted from Chang, Chung-yuan. *Original Teaching of Ch'an Buddhism*.(New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 87.

7 Ibid., T 51, p. 87.

puts it, the sun rises and shines all over the world but it does not light the Void; when the sun sets, darkness comes to the world but the Void is not darkened. Light and darkness are conditional phenomena, alternating and contrasting with each other. The Void is free from any such alternatives.[8] The mind of Buddha which knows this, and the mind of ordinary beings who are often steeped in ignorance, are one and the same, at least as potentialities. *The Platform Sutra* says: "We are originally pure in our self-nature."[9] Good and Learned friends, realize that your self-nature is naturally pure. Cultivate and achieve for yourselves the Law-body of your self-nature. Follow the Way of the Buddha yourselves. Act and achieve Buddhahood for yourselves.[10] Without enlightenment, a Buddha is no different from other living beings. With enlightenment, even a single instant of thought, all living beings become the same as a Buddha.[11] Again the *Platform Sutra* says: "if we understand our minds and see our nature, we shall achieve Buddhahood ourselves."[12]

The Distinctive Rhetoric and Pedagogy of Ch'an

Within the Ch'an tradition, after the sixth patriarch Hui-Neng, the Hun-chou-lin-chi lineage developed a new rhetoric to express Chinese Buddhist concepts, and created unique styles of meditation. It held that Ch'an words are intended to convey the experience and content of enlightenment; and if that experience is ineffable, then the language used to describe it must strive to

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8 Ibid., T 51, p. 88.

9 Wing-Tsit Chan, Trans. *The Platform Scripture*. (New York: St. John's University Press, 1963), p. 57.

10 Ibid., p. 57.

11 Ibid., p. 79.

12 Ibid., p. 79.

be equally ineffable. The unique rhetoric developed by Ch'an is thus distinguished by its "terseness" 省略, which comes not from intelligibility or clarity of expression but from its utility in prompting "mysterious penetration" (玄通),[13] such as the following example:

> A monk asked Yun-Men Wen-Yen 雲門文偃 (d. 949). " What is the Buddha?" Yun-Men replied, "A dried shit-stick."[14]

The movement toward distinctive rhetoric of Ch'an included the use of stories of a nonlogical or ontological nature, intended to free the mind from the urge to possess enlightenment in words, reason or formula, and stories raising doubt about the nature of the seeker. Other techniques included the discreet use of silence, and also beating, shouting, or virtually any other kind of physical gesture. What follows are samplings of these stories that emphasize the typically Ch'an non-conceptual, illocutionary style of teaching. The stories are important not only as records of the exchanges between masters and would-be masters, but as legends that have inspired generations.

1. Huai-Jang (677-744)

A story tells that Ma-Tsu stayed in Ch'uan-Fa Temple at Nan Yo where he lived in seclusion and practiced meditation. He did not answer those who came to call on him. One day, Huai-Jang came to see him, but Ma-tsu paid no attention to the visitor. Seeing the unusual expression of Ma-Tsu's

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[13] *Ch'an-yuan chu-chuan chi tu-hsu* 禪源諸詮集都序 1, T 48. 400a3.

[14] Wu-men kuan 無門關, case 21, T 48. 295c5.

face, Haui-Jang remembered the Sixth Patriarch's prediction and tried his best to point Ma-Tsu to the Mind Dharma.

Huai-Jang took a brick to the door of the hut and rubbed the brick on the doorpost, but Ma-Tsu continued to pay no attention. After a long while, Ma-Tsu asked, "what are you doing?" Huai-Jang replied, "I am rubbing a brick to make a mirror." Ma-Tsu asked, "how can you make a mirror by rubbing a brick?" The master said, "if a mirror cannot be made by rubbing a brick, how can one become a Buddha by sitting in meditation?"[15]

Ma-Tsu then rose from his seat and asked the master, "what should one do, then?" The master said, "if a cart drawn by an ox does not move, is it correct to whip the ox or the cart?" He further asked, "do you want to sit in meditation or to be a sitting Buddha? If you want to sit in meditation, meditation is neither sitting nor lying. If you want to be a sitting Buddha, the Buddha is not motionlessness; moreover even its opposite, motion, should be neither accepted nor rejected. If you sit to become a Buddha, you will simply kill him. If you cling to sitting you will never realize the Dharma."[16]

Hearing these words, Ma-Tsu became acquainted with the teaching, bowed down and asked Huai-Jang, "how should I use my mind to find concordance with the samadhi beyond form?" The master replied, "your study of the Mind Dharma is like the sowing of seeds, and my expounding of its

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[15] K'uan-Yu Lu, *The Transmission of the Mind Outside theTeaching.* (London: Rider & Company, 1974), p. 37.

[16] Ibid., p. 37.

essentials is like the rain. Since your potentiality agrees with the Dharma, you should perceive the truth."

Ma-Tsu asked, "since truth is formless, how can it be perceived?" The master replied, "the mind's eye can perceive the truth. This also applies to the formless samadhi." Ma-Tsu asked, "is the truth subject to creation and destruction?" The master replied, "if the truth is perceived as subject to creation and destruction, formation and decay, it is not real. Now listen to my gatha: 'The mind-ground holds the flower seeds which sprout when moistened by the rain. The blossom of samadhi is formless, how can it decay or come into being?'" [17]

Upon hearing these words Ma-Tsu awakened to the Mind Dharma. He stayed to serve the master for ten years during which he gradually acquired deeper experiences of the Mind Dharma.

Huai-Jang had six disciples whose achievements were sealed by him personally. He said to them, "each of you has acquired a special part of my body: one who has won my eyebrows excels in respect-inspiring deportment;[18] one who has won my eyes excels in seeing;[19] one who has won my ears excels in hearing the Dharma;[20] one who has won my nose excels in regulating the

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17 Ibid., p. 38.
18 Chang-Hao of Nan-Yo peak.
19 Chih-Ta.
20 T'an-Jan.

breath;[21] one who has won my tongue excels in preaching;[22] one who has won my mind excels in the Tao (truth)."[23]

Later Ma-Tsu went to K'ai-Yuan monastery in Chiang-Hsi (Kiangsi) province where he spread the Mind Dharma.

2. Ma-Tsu Tao-I (709-788)

Ch'an teaching, as practiced by Ma-Tsu Tao-I, emphasized Ordinary Mind as the Tao, a doctrine known as *ping-chang-hsin shih tao* 平常心是道.[24] The central notion was that the activities of daily life, such as walking, working, sitting and lying can be expressions of enlightenment, without the need for language. Ma-Tsu himself used pedagogical methods such as striking and shouting, known as ho 喝.[25] Through these methods he urged his students to cut off their defilements and attain enlightenment.

The instruction of Ma-Tsu is based on the Lannkāvatāṛā sūtra and the Diamond sūtra. The Diamond sūtra became very popular within the Southern Ch'an School, largely because it contains a fundamental introduction in which "insight" is explained. The Lannkāvatāṛā sūtra discusses practice and mystical

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21 Shen Chao of Ch'ao Chou district.

22 Yen-Chun of Ta Ming monastery at Yang Chou.

23 Tao-I, also called Ma-tsu of Chiang-Hsi (Kiangsi province).

24 Chi-Hui T'sai, *A Study of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang Huai-Hui*. (Taipei: Master's Thesis, Culture University, 1991), p.118.

25 Ibid., p. 118.

realization, and occupied a central position in the Northern Ch'an School, which came closer to the original Ch'an and the Yogācārā direction.[26]

The main teaching of Ma-Tsu, that "the Buddha's proclamation [which has] mind as its essence and no-mind as its teaching method," is not specifically found in either sutra. One does find such expressions as: "the Buddha's proclamation is the mind"; "the three worlds are merely expressions of the mind"; "everything is a phenomenon of one's mind;" "non-instruction is the instruction of the Buddha"-- these are common themes Ma-Tsu elaborates upon.[27] He also says that Dharma cannot put into practice. Dharma is beyond grasping and rejecting, and if you grasp or reject it, this is grasping or rejecting something else. Dharma is transcendentally inactive.[28] Dharma is a non-action and non-self. Dharma is formed by many conditions.

A monk once drew four lines in front of Ma-Tsu. The top line was long and the remaining three were short. He then demanded of the Master, "besides saying that one line is long and the other three are short, what else could you say?" Ma-Tsu drew one line on the ground and said, "This could be called either long or short. That is my answer."[29]

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[26] Translated by Julian F. Pas, *The Recorded Sayings of Ma-Tsu.* Lewiston/Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), p. 52.

[27] Ibid., p. 52.

[28] Ibid., p. 52-53.

[29] *Ching-teh ch'uang-teng lu* 9, T51, p. 264b-265c. Quoted from Chang Chung-yuan. *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism.*(New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 151.

On another occasion a monk who lectured on Buddhism came to Ma-Tsu and asked, "what is the teaching advocated by the Ch'an master?" Ma-Tsu posed a counter question: "what teachings do you maintain?" The monk replied that he had lectured on more than twenty sutras and sastras. The Master exclaimed, "are you not a lion?" The monk said, "I do not venture to say that." The Master puffed twice and the monk commented, "this is the way to teach Ch'an?" Ma-Tsu retorted, "what way do you mean?" and the monk said, "the way the lion leaves the den." Ma-Tsu became silent. Immediately the monk remarked, "this is also the way of Ch'an teaching." At this the Ma-Tsu again asked, "where there is neither going out nor remaining in, what way would you say this was?" The monk made no answer but bade Ma-Tsu good-bye. When he reached the door Ma-Tsu called to him and he immediately turned his head. Ma-Tsu said to him, "then what is it?" The monk again made no answer. "What a stupid teacher this is!" Ma-Tsu cried out.[30]

Another story relates that one day Ma-Tsu came to the assembly and kept silent for quite a while. Pai-Chang rolled up the mat in front of his seat, whereupon Ma-Tsu left the assembly hall. Pai-Chang later asked, "what is the meaning of Buddha's teaching?" Ma-Tsu replied, "it is that upon which your life depends." When Pai-Chang was asked by Ma-Tsu how he would teach Ch'an, he held up the *fu-tzu*. Ma-Tsu asked, "is that all? Anything further?" Thereupon Pai-Chang put down the *fu-tzu*.[31]

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30 Ibid., p. 151-152.

31 Ibid., p.150. The *Fu-tzu* was the pointer used by the ancient masters as they gave sermons or led discussions. It was a short staff of wood, bamboo, or jade, with a brush of long hair at one end. It was first called *chu-kwei* after the large deer from whose tail came the hair for

Ma-Tsu taught not only through the *ho* method and devices such as twisting the nose, but also originated the striking method, which Te-Shan Hauan-Chien and other masters often applied. When a monk asked Ma-Tsu, "what is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?" the master struck him, saying, "if I do not strike you, people all over the country will laugh at me."[32] To teach Ch'an through the "strike" became a very popular practice among later masters. The most famous expert on strike teaching was Te-Shan Hsuan-Chien.

3. Pai-Chang Huai-Hai (720-814)

Pai-Chang appears in the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Pi-yen-lu*) in cases 2, 26, 40, 53, 70, 71, and 72.[33] Following are some of the noteworthy stories in which he was involved.

A monk asked Pai-Chang, "what's the extraordinary affair?" Pai-Chang said, "sitting alone on Ta-Hsiung Mountain." The monk bowed; Pai-Chang thereupon hit him.[34]

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the brush; *fu-tzu* refers to the horsehair from which the brush was later made.

32 Ibid., p.133.

33 Michael H. Kohn, Ready Karen., and Werner Wunsche, *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism & Zen.* (Boston: Shambhala, 1989), p. 261.

34 Thomas Cleary and J.C. Cleary, trans. *The Blue Cliff Record.* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1992), P. 172.

The story of Pai-Chang's enlightenment well illustrates his non-conceptual style of teaching.

One day when Ma-Tsu was walking in attendance with Pai-Chang, a flock of wild geese flew off overhead. Ma-Tsu asked Pai-Chang, "what is that?" Pai-Chang replied, "wild geese, master. " Ma-Tsu said: "where did they go?" Pai-Chang said: "they have flown away." Ma-Tsu turned his head and twisted Pai-Chang's nose. Pai-Chang cried out in pain. The master said, " when have they ever flown away? They have been here from the very beginning." Through these words, Pai-Chang awakened,[35] seeing that penetrating one place is penetrating ten thousand places at once.[36]

When Ma-Tsu went up to the hall the next day, as soon as the congregation had assembled, Pai-Chang came forward and rolled up the bowing mat. Ma-Tsu immediately left his seat. After he had returned to his abbot's quarters, he asked Pai-Chang, "I had just gone to the hall and had not yet preached; why did you roll up the mat right away?" Pai-Chang said, "yesterday I had my nose twisted by you, Teacher, and it hurt." Ma-Tsu said, "where were you keeping your mind yesterday?" Pai-Chang said, "today the nose no longer hurts." Ma-Tsu said, "you have profound knowledge of Today's affair." Pai-Chang then bowed and returned to the attendants' quarters, crying. One of his fellow attendants asked, "why are you crying?" Pai-Chang said, "go ask our master." The attendant then went to ask Ma-Tsu. Ma-Tsu said, "to ask Pai-Chang." When attendant returned to the quarters to

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[35] *Hung-chou Pai-chang ch'an-shih yu-lu* 洪州百丈禪師語錄, HTC 119. 409b. (Taipei: Hsin-Wen-Fun Press 新文豐).

[36] Translated by Thomas Cleary & J.C. Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record.* (Boston &London: Shambhala, 1992), p. 311.

ask Pai-Chang, Pai-Chang laughed loudly. The attendant said, "you were just crying--now why are you laughing?" Pai-Chang said, "I was crying before, now I am laughing." [37] We see that Pai-Chang, after his enlightenment turned smoothly, avoiding all traps. Naturally he was sparking clear on all sides.[38]

One day Pai-Chang asked Wu-Feng, "with your throat, mouth, and lips shut, how will you speak?" Wu-Feng said, "Teacher, you too should shut up." Pai-Chang said, "where there is no one, I shade my eyes with my hand and gaze out towards you."[39]

It is said, "if you want to attain intimacy, don't ask with questions." We can see that Wu-Feng's answer cut him off immediately; and undeniably it was fast and brilliant. When Pai-Chang says, "where there's no one, I shade my eyes with my hand and gaze out towards you," we do not know whether this is approval of Wu-feng or not. Is it a killing or bringing to life? We see him turn smoothly and can deduce that Pai-Chang just was giving him a test.

In another case, Pai-Chang asked Yun-Yen, "with your throat, mouth, and lips shut, how will you speak?" Yun-Yen said, "Teacher, do you have any way to speak or not?" Pai-Chang said, "I have lost my descendants."[40]

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37 Translated by Thomas Cleary & J. C. Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record.* (Boston & London: Shambhala, 1992), p. 311-312.

38 Ibid., p. 312.

39 Ibid., p. 395.

40 Ibid., p. 398.

Yun-Yen served as an attendant for twenty years with Pai-Chang. Later he went with Tao-Wu to Yao-Shan. Yao-Shan asked him, "when you were in Pai-Chang's congregation, what was your purpose?" Yun-Yen said, "to escape birth and death." Yao-Shan asked, "have you escaped yet or not?" Yun-Yen said, "there's no birth and death for this one." Yao-Shan replied, "twenty years away from Pai-Chang and your force of habit still hasn't been cleared away." Yen took his leave and went to see Nan-Ch'uan. Later he returned to Yao-Shan and at last understood, and was enlightened.[41]

We understand that though Yun-Yen had studied and investigated the ancient way for twenty years his fruit had still not ripened. He stuck to his skin and clung to his bones, and could break through.

4. Kuei-Shan Ling-Yu (771-853)

The School of Kuei-Yang, one of the five most famous sects of Ch'an Buddhism in China, was founded by Kuei-Shan Ling-Yu and his follower Yang-Shan Hui-Chi. Both masters Kuei-Shan and Yang-Shan were very important in the early history of the Ch'an school. Three-way conversations between these two and Hsiang-Yen, a third disciple, are less well-known, but eloquently illustrate a high level of inner freedom from attachment to things. The dialogues also reflect the variety of teaching methods Ch'an monasticism developed, including the *kung-an*, used by persons with an enlightened mind who wish to verify their insight. In Ch'an literature the dialogues between Kuei-Shan and Yang-Shan are considered typical of the question and answer

41 *The Blue Cliff Record.* Ibid., p. 398.

method of instruction; their teaching style inspired numerous generations monks and lay people. The style of these dialogues can be gathered below.

Once Kuei-Shan asked Yang-Shan, "where have you been?" Yang-Shan replied, "I have just come from the field." Kuei-Shan went on, "how many people are there?" Yang-Shan thrust his hoe into the ground and stood there motionless. Kuei-Shan said, "today at the southern mountain a man worked at harvesting the rushes." Thereupon Yang-Shan picked up his hoe and walked away.[42]

Ordinarily, Yang-Shan walking picking up his hoe and walking away would be considered rude; however a Ch'an disciple's concept of etiquette different. We know that Kuei-Shan often discussed the doctrines of *ta-chi*, or "great potentiality," and *ta-yung*, or meaning "great action."[43] Both doctrines are illustrated in the foregoing *kung-an*. When Yang-Shan thrust his hoe into the ground, standing motionless, he did not answer his master in words, but with an inner understanding revealed through this very non-action. Kuei-Shan, in his remark about the farmer harvesting his crop, praised him for having reached such an advanced stage in his cultivation of Ch'an.

Another illustration of great potentially and great action occurring simultaneously is found in the a story concerning Pai-Chang. One day all the monks of the temple were working together in the fields. When the drum summoning them to dinner sounded, one of the monks threw up his hoe, and

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[42] CTCTL., p.186.
[43] Ibid., p.186.

laughing heartily, started back toward the temple. Pai-Chang remarked, "What fine work this is! It is the way whereby the goddess of Mercy enters Ultimate reality."[44]

Another story relates that one day Hua-Lin, head monk in the temple, went angrily to Pai-Chang when he heard that Kuei-Shan was to be appointed abbot on Mount Kuei. "How could this be!" he demanded. Pai-Chang said to him, "if you can correctly answer my question in front of the assembly, you will be appointed abbot." Pai-Chang then pointed to a pitcher and said, "Do not call this a pitcher. Rather, what should you call it?" Hua-Lin answered, "it cannot be called a wooden wedge." Pai-Chang shook his head and turned to Ling-Yu for an answer. Ling-Yu kicked the pitcher over. Pai-Chang laughed and said, "our head monk has lost his bid for Mount Kuei." Thus Ling-Yu was selected to be the abbot in the new monastery.[45]

From this *kung-an* it is very clear to show that Hua-Lin's answer was only on an intellectual level, and he only understand the surface of the object, revealing no depth of inner cultivation. However, Kuei-Shan Ling-Yu did not take his answer from the relative plane. He revealed his inner cultivation because he did not call the pitcher this or that.

5. Yang-Shan (814-890)

Yang-Shan is famed as the co-founder of the School of Kuei-Shan, but his own achievements are equally well known.

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44 Ibid., p. 187.
45 Ibid., p. 187.

One day Kuei-Shan said to Yang-Shan and Hsiang-Yen, "in the middle of the winter the weather becomes bitterly cold. But this happens every year. Can you tell me who is its mover?" When Yang-Shan heard this he folded his hands in front of his chest, paced a few steps, and then stood still. The Master remarked, "I know you cannot answer my question." Then Hsiang-Yeh came forward and said, "I can answer it." Kuei-Shan said, "what is your answer?" Hsiang-Yeh paced a few steps with his hands folded in front of his chest and then he also stood still.[46] From this story it is clear that Yang-Shan used silence as his answer. Often he and Kuei-shan used significant gestures, because silent answers can be as powerful as a sharp sword, as illustrated in the following story.

A monk asked Master Yang-Shan, "would the dharmakaya also know how to expound the teaching of Buddhism?" The Master answered, "I cannot tell you, but somebody else can." The monk asked, "where is the one who can tell?" Master Yang-Shan silently pushed forward a pillow. Kuei-Shan's comment on this was, "Yang-Shan is engaging in swordplay."[47]

Yang-Shan's swordplay was applied not only in answering his disciples, but in answering his fellow monks when he was still a disciples himself under Kuei-Shan. From all those stories, we know that Kuei-Shan used the *kung-an* form of teaching to his disciples to achieve mind-awakening, in addition to

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[46] Ibid., p. 196.
[47] Ibid., p. 196.

meditation. Yang-Shan and Kuei-Shan both used silence, which may be as powerful as swordplay in teaching disciples to achieve enlightenment.

6. Huang-Po Hsi-Yuan (+ 850)

The Master Huang-Po was Pai-Chang's disciple and brother of Kuei-Shan Ling-Yu. Huang-Po's famous teaching was known as Roaring Like a Tiger. One day Huang-Po traveled to the capital. He was advised to visit Pai-Chang, so he went to him and asked, " how did the early Ch'an masters guide their followers?" Pai-Chang remained silent. Huang-Po said, "you cannot let the original Ch'an teachings be lost in the hands of later followers." Pai-Chang answered, "I say that you shall be the man who loses Ch'an." After having said this Pai-Chang went to his room. But Huang-Po followed him and entered the room, saying, "I came here especially to learn from you." Pai-Chang said, "if so, you had better not disappoint me in the future."[48]

One day Pai-Chang asked Huang-Po, "where have you been?" The answer was that he had been at the foot of the Ta-Hsiung Mountain picking mushrooms. Pai-Chang continued, "have you seen any tigers?" Huang-Po immediately roared like a tiger. Pai-Chang picked up an ax as if to chop the tiger. Huang-Po suddenly slapped Pa-Chang's face. Pai-Chang laughed eartily, and then returned to his temple and said to the assembly, "at the foot of the

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[48] Ibid., p. 103.

Ta-Hsiung Mountain there is a tiger. You people should watch out. I have already been bitten today."[49]

Pai-Chang's comments to the assembly indicate the complexity of the teaching. He realized its depth and its profundity, and its relative inaccessibility to all but those who had attained the highest levels.

Another story relates that one day Huang-Po was with Nan-Ch'uan.[50] All the monks in Nan-Ch'uan's monastery were going out to harvest cabbage. Nan-Ch'uan asked Huang-Po, "where are you going?" Huang-Po answered, "I am going to pick cabbage." Nan-Ch'uan went on, "what do you use to pick cabbage?" Huang-Po lifted his sickle. Nan-Ch'uan remarked, "You take the objective position as a guest, but you do not know how to preside as a host in the subjective position." Huang-Po thereupon knocked on the ground three times with his sickle.[51]

Two themes emerge clearly from this conversation. Although they had achieved inner liberation, they needed to work in the field picking cabbage just like anyone else. Secondly, picking the cabbage itself served as a method of Ch'an teaching. The conversation exemplifies the Ch'an effort to collapse the mundane and the spiritual into a single practice.

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[49] Ibid., p. 103.

[50] Ibid., p. 103. Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan (738-824), whose dialogues appear in Part IV.

[51] Ibid., p. 103.

Another story plays upon the same themes. One day Huang-Po came to the assembly, where all his disciples were gathered, and said, "All of you! What are you seeking?" He took a staff and scattered them, and then said: "you are all idiots. Seeking the truth through traveling as you do now will only make others ridicule you. You join the crowd whenever there are several hundred or a thousand people. You should not do this just for fun. When I was traveling by foot, if I happened to meet someone who at first glance I realized understood the hardships of Ch'an, I would offer him my own rice. Should I have taken things as lightly as you do now, there would be no teaching here today. Since you are learning Ch'an through your travels, you should put all your effort into it. Do you know that in the great kingdom of T'ang there is really no master of Ch'an?" Just then a monk stepped forward and asked, "all over the country we have many old masters who gather their disciples and teach them Ch'an. Why should you say that there is no Ch'an?" Huang-Po replied, "what I do mean is that there in no teacher. Do you know that eighty-four disciples of the great Ma-Tsu taught Ch'an, but only two or three of them had really received his genuine wisdom? The great Master Kuei-Tsung was one of them."[52]

Huang-Po used the *kung-an* as a vehicle for the transmission of his mind to his disciples. His approach was close to that of Ma-Tsu, his grandfather-in-dharma.

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[52] Ibid., p. 105.

7. Lin-Chi I-Hsuan (+ 867)

Lin-Chi was the disciple of Huang-Po and the grandson-in-dharma of Pai-Chang. He is considered the most powerful master in the entire history of Ch'an. The school which he founded became the most influential of the five major Ch'an sects. His methods include certain features which represent a typical orthodoxy as descended from Ma-Tsu. He used the *ho* and the striking approaches to awaken his disciples, like Ma-Tsu. Lin-Chi was especially famous for developing the *ho* method into an effective and systematic tool, though it was primarily an invention of Ma-Tsu. Once, a story goes, when his disciple Pai-Chang approached him, Ma-Tsu picked up the *fu-tzu* beside his seat and held it up. Pai-Chang asked, "at the very moment of this action, should you not be non-attached to it?" Ma-Tsu put the *fu-tzu* back where it had been. Pai-Chang was silent for a moment. "What will make you an enlightened man?" Ma-Tsu asked. Pai-Chang took the *fu-tzu* and held it up, and Ma-Tsu asked him, "at the very moment of this action, should you not be non-attached to it?" As Pai-Chang put the *fu-tzu* back, Ma-Tsu suddenly cried out "Ho!" so loudly that Pai-Chang was deaf for the next three days.[53]

The *ho* method is for awakening those devotees who are really ready for enlightenment.

A story relates that one day Master Lin-Chi with Huang-Po to do some work in which all the monks participated. Lin-Chi followed his master who, turning his head, noticed that Lin-Chi was carrying nothing on his head.

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53 Ibid., p. 131.

"Where is your hoe?" he asked. "Somebody took it away," replied Lin-Chi. "Come here: let us discuss something," commanded Huang-Po, and as Lin-Chi drew nearer, he thrust his hoe into the ground and continued, "there is no one in the world who can pick up my hoe." However, Lin-Chi seized the tool, lifted it up, and exclaimed, "how then could it be in my hands?" "Today we have another hand with us; it is not necessary for me to join in," Huang-Po replied, and returned to the temple.

Another story tells that one day Huang-Po ordered all the monks of the temple to work in the tea garden. He himself was the last to arrive. Lin-Chi greeted him, but stood there with his hands resting on the hoe. "Are you tired?" asked Huang-Po. "I just started working; how can you say that I am tired!" Huang-Po immediately lifted his stick and struck Lin-Chi, who then seized the stick, and with a punch, made his master fall to the ground. Huang-Po called the supervisor to help him up. After doing so, the supervisor asked, "Master, how can you let such a madman insult you like that?" Huang-Po picked up the stick and struck the supervisor. Lin-Chi, digging the ground by himself, made this remark: "Let all other places use cremation; here I will bury you alive."[54]

According to another story, one day Master Lin-Chi asked Lo-P'u,[55] "from the early days on, some taught by means of the stick; others through *ho*. Which of the two means do you prefer?" "I prefer neither," the disciple replied. "What is wrong with having a preference?" retorted the Master. Lo-P

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[54] Ibid., p. 117-118.

[55] Lo-p'u Yuan-an of Li-chou, a disciple of Chia-shan Shan-hui. See the *Lamp, Chuan* 16.

‘u immediately exclaimed "Ho!" and Master Lin-Chi struck him. Lin-Chi's Ch'an approached is fulfilled and masterful. He cultivated many disciples to achieve enlightenment.

After Ma-Tsu, his followers Huang-Po Hsi-Yun, Mu-Chou Tao-Tsung, Lin-Chi I-Hsuan, and many others adopted the technique of *ho* for the purposes of opening the minds of their disciples.

Ch‘an Buddhists have traditionally said that before one is enlightened one sees a mountain as a mountain and a river as a river; in the process of attaining enlightenment, mountains are no longer mountains, rivers no longer rivers; but when one has finally achieved enlightenment, mountains are once more mountains, rivers once more rivers. This was also Mu-Chou's teaching. Only after supreme enlightenment did he reach this state of wisdom.

All these Ch‘an masters achieved enlightenment through their daily practice, which was not only sitting in meditation, but they also concentrate their "mind" at every moment, whether eating, sleeping, lying down, sweeping, moving or cutting wood, or performing any other activity. All their activities and movements are Ch'an.

II. Conclusion

The Ch'an school developed a variety of teaching methods. The ancient masters, Ma-Tsu, Pai-Chang, Kuei-Shan, Yang-Shan, Huang-Po, and Lin-Chi used striking, shouts, hua t'ou (話頭) and *kung-an* to cultivate their

disciples. It was the *kung-an* technique which achieved Yang-Shan's awakening through patience and effort. The aim of the *kung-an* is a search detached from its object. When a monk asked Chao-Chou, "does a dog have the Buddha-nature?" Chao-Chou replied, "no," stressing the word "no" in such a way as to urge his disciple to look into and demystify what the searcher believes is the key to success. The *kung-an* also consists of giving a shout, a loud roar of laughter or a blow with a staff, of showing two hands wide open, of raising a finger, of holding up a cake or a cup of tea or other gesticulations.[56]

Sometimes the Ch'an masters used a "silent answer," which could be as powerful as a sharp sword. Yang-Shan used silence as his answer to his master Kuei-Shan. The teaching of Kuei-Shan not only stressed *kung-an* training to achieve mind-awakening, but also emphasized meditation as the path to illumination. In the *Records of Serenity, Kung-an 32,* Hung-Chih Cheng-Chio relates that in the middle of the night, Yang-Shan achieved *samadhi* during meditation. All of a sudden he felt that mountains, rivers, fields, monasteries, people, all things, even he himself, did not exist. It was as if his mind were in a world of transparent emptiness.[57] Lin-Chi articulates the positive goal of cultivation as the following: "Disciples, there is no place for exertion in Buddha-dharma. And Buddha-dharma is nothing but the daily ordinary affairs of no importance such as answering the call of nature, dressing, eating and lying down when one feels tired. The ignorant may laugh at me, the wise alone will understand. 'Any one who devotes himself to external

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[56] K'uan-Yu Charles Lu, *Practical Buddhism.* (London: Rider & Company, 1971), p. 22.

[57] Translated by Chung-Yuan Chang, *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 197.

activities,' as the proverb runs, 'Is definitely a fool.'"[58] We see the Ch'an is a simple through daily life practice that must be followed by the individual if he wants to experience the inner awakening.

The original meaning of *kung-an* is "the document of an official transaction in the desk."[59] *Kung-an* also means a Ch'an story, a Ch'an situation, or a Ch'an problem. A *kung-an* may ask the solution to a Ch'an problem such as "who is the one who recites the name of Buddha?"; or the meaning of the single word *wu* meaning "No" or "Nothing". Sometimes the problems deal with *hua t'ou or tsen hua t'ou,* meaning "heads of words." For instance, "Who is the one who recites the name of Buddha?" is a sentence, the first "end" of which is the single word "Who." To put one's mind into this single word "who," and try to find the solution of the original question, is a *hua t'ou* exercise."[60]

Kung-an forms a skillful means of supplementing monastic training and cultivation. Pupils receive teaching for attaining awakening in stages, and ancient Ch'an masters applied it without explanation.[61] Kung-an is a teaching method used to train the intellect in non-logical forms, thus the *wu*, "no." There is answer to the question, "What was your original face before your

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58 W. Pachow, *Chinese Buddhism Aspects of Interaction and Reinterpretation.* (USA: University Press of America, 1980), p. 31.

59 Chen-Chi Chang, *The Practice of Zen.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 48.

60 Ibid., p.48.

61 Yuan-Tien Hung-Tao. *Kung An Ch'an's Establishment--Kung-An Ch'an's Establishment and Development and Japanese Ch'an.* (Japan: Record of Reserch of the Chu-Tai University), p. 57-84.

parents were born?" or " What is the sound of one hand clapping?"[62] This is a way to train Ch'an pupils through night and day for weeks and months on end to solve this problem. It is one of the most effective Ch'an teaching methods.

Another method of Ch'an teaching is the "doubt" technique, which operates through creating a feeling of doubt. This is a so-called poison-against-poison which consists of giving rise to a feeling of doubt, or *i-ch'ing* (疑情) about who the seeker of enlightenment is. Emphasis is on the word who, which undermines the student's eagerness to practice the Dharma by grasping at and possessing it.[63] The *i-ch'ing* or feeling of doubt plays the same role as stop, chih (止), and contemplation, kuan (觀), by stopping all rising thoughts and inducing alertness to the true nature of sense data. It is an ingenious pedagogical device which is most effective in Ch'an training.[64] The feeling of doubt, which the masters likened to an indestructible sword, cuts down all thoughts and mental states during the training. Lin-Chi said, "If you meet a Buddha, cut him down; if you meet a Patriarch, cut him down ...and if you meet your relatives, cut them down.[65] Alternately doubt works by asking, and ruthlessly asking, "who am I ..." "who is this moving ..." "who sees things..." "who is it sitting here..." "who is it that is conscious ..."

The teaching of Ch'an is a "direct pointing at the mind," or in the words of Ma-Tsu, which enabled his disciple Pai-Chang to become

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62 C:~istmas Humphreys, *Zen: A Way of LIfe*. (New Work: Emerson Books, Inc. 1965), p. 111.

63 K'uan-Yu Charles Lu, p. 22.

64 Ibid., p. 23.

65 Ibid., p. 23.

enlightened,[66] "Mind is Buddha." Concerning this direct pointing at the mind, some disciples once asked Ch'an master Hui-Hai (慧海), "what method must they practice in order to attain deliverance?" Hui-Hai said, "it can be attained only through a sudden illumination." The disciples asked, "what is a sudden illumination?" Hui-Hai said, "sudden means ridding yourselves of deluded thoughts instantaneously. Illumination means the realization that illumination is not something to be attained." The disciples asked, "from where do we start this practice?" Hui-Hai replied, "you must start from the very root." The disciples asked, "and what is that?" Hui-Hai said. "Mind is the root." The disciples asked, "how can this be known?" Hui-Hai replied, "the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra says:* 'when mental processes (*hsin*) arise, then do all dharmas (phenomena) spring forth; and when mental processes cease, then do well dharmas cease likewise.'"[67] Ch'an practice begins from the mind and goes toward the mind. The object is calming the mind from its attachments, which is deliverance into peace. A story relates that a monk, Hsiang-Yen Chih-Hsien (香嚴智閑), worked very busily cutting weeds and sweeping the ground. He was not asleep in his meditation. In the everyday task of life he was going along the ancient path. Finally, casually he threw away a piece of broken tile. It made a sound, KLANK! against a bamboo tree. Hsiang-yen's mind was suddenly opened. It was as if he had found moonlight in the hollow...[68] This is the true way of practicing Ch'an.

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66 K'uan-Yu Charles Lu, *Practical Buddhism.* (London ; Rider & Company, 1971, p. 17.

67 Johan Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Hui Hai: On Sudden Illumination.* (New York, Samuel Weiser, 1972), p. 44.

68 Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu 景德傳燈錄 . T 51, 2076, p. 284a.

A Chinese Ch'an master wrote a famous poem on such sudden illumination in everyday practice:

"Magical power, marvelous action!

Chapping wood, carry waster..."[69]

The scholar John C. H. Wu comments: "You should meditate on this word *wu* day and night without cease. Keep at it while you are walking, resting, sitting, and sleeping, while you are putting on clothes, taking meals, sitting on the stool, making water. Let every thought of your mind be focused on it."[70] Such concentration was certainly Pai-Chang intent in establishing the Pure Rules which unified contemplative practice, unique pedagogical techniques and manual labor, and which have proven an exceedingly successful combination for Ch'an cultivation.

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69 Rick Filds, & Peggy Taylor, et all. *Chapping Wood Carry Water: a guide to finding sipiritual fulfillment in everyday life.* (Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarecher, Inc. 1989), p. x.

70 John C. H. Wu, *The Golden Age of Zen*. (Taipei: Sole Agent: United Publishing Center, 1975), p. 121.

Chapter 7

Monastic Morality Teachings of Ch'an School
--Based on the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*

I. Introduction

While the Ch'an School claimed "not to rely on words," they produced numerous books in the form of the Recorded Sayings and the Recorded Transmission of the Lamp, also many of them as the Kung-an. These works provided information about the early Ch'an masters' concepts of morality. Moral teachings gradually appeared explicitly in the later works of Ch'an masters, especially of the Sung Dynasty.

Traditionally, moral practice has been considered the first step of the Three Learnings (三學): Precept (Sanskrit: *sila*), meditation, and wisdom. Through proper practice of Three Learnings, one eliminates defilements and realizes enlightenment. Moral codes (*sila*) are included in the Vinaya, which consists of personal precepts and rules of community activities. However, because the Vinaya is Indian in its cultural framework, its personal precepts caused cultural conflict for Chinese Buddhists. The Ch'an Master Pai-Chang courageously broke the bonds of the Indian Vinaya by creating a set of new rules for Chinese Buddhist clerics. His new rules mainly focused on the regulation of the monastery. Personal precepts largely concern disciplinary offenses. During the initial period of Ch'an monastic practice, and particularly during the height of its prosperity in the T'ang Dynasty, personal moral practice

as it was understood in the Indian Vinaya was ignored. In later period, morality came to be emphasized by Ch'an masters. The growth of morality as a Ch'an preoccupation will be discussed in this Chapter.

II. Morality in the early period of the Ch'an School

In the earlier period of Ch'an School, no-thought, that is, thinking neither wholesome nor unwholesome thoughts, became the stereotype of personal daily practice. Traditionally Indian moral practices were rarely mentioned, and were even rejected. The comments of Ma-Tsu, Pai-Chang's teacher, illustrate the general standpoint of the early Ch'an School.

> One day a monk asked Ma-Tsu: "What is cultivation of the Path?" Ma-Tsu replied: "The Path is not for cultivation. If the Path is obtained by cultivation, it will be ruined after completing cultivation, as it is with the Heaters (聲聞), (Sanskrit: *sravakas*, persons who achieve power through austerities but not enlightenment), and with those who do not cultivate acts as ordinary people." The monk asked again: "How can one maintain a view that will lead to the Path?" The Patriarch responded: "Self-nature is originally fully intrinsic. One who simply does not cling to matters of wholesome and unwholesome is called the 'Path-cultivator. Those who cling to the wholesome and abandon the unwholesome, who contemplate emptiness and practice meditation, all perform artificial works. If a person seeks [the Path] externally, he removes himself [from the Path]. As long as [one dwells in] the mind attached to the Three Realms (三界), all thoughts of such a delusive mind are roots of rebirth in the Three Realms. When one has no [delusive] thoughts, he has eliminated the root of rebirth and obtained the superior treasure of the Dharma King.[1]

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[1] HTC 119. 406a13-18. *Chiang-hsi Ma-tsu tao-i Ch'an-shih yu-lu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語錄).

This passage leaves a number of questions. There is no explanation why the Path accomplished by the Heaters, who cultivate the will to enlightenment through the practice of austerities, will collapse. Further, if an Arahant, an enlightened one according the doctrine of early Buddhism, could backslide, what guarantees that a Buddha or a Ch'an master, who has seen Self-nature, will not backslide? Ch'an masters believe that "mind is the Buddha"--but does this mean they are free not to act like a Buddha? If enlightened people are free not to act like Buddhas, why deride non-enlightened people by calling them "ordinary people?" For those people dwelling in the Three Realms, no-(delusive)-thought may not be intrinsic, or at least may require cultivation, but the intrinsic quality of no-thought in an enlightened person may not be apparent for all their cultivation. Ch'an Buddhist practice cultivates enlightenment in the Path, but does not allow practitioners to say that they are cultivating the Path.

In another passage, Ma-Tsu writes:

> The Path needs no cultivating... Ordinary mind is the path... What is the normal mind? It is the mind without artificial work--without right or wrong, without taking or abandoning, without permanence or impermanence, without ordinary people or sages... Walking, standing, sitting, lying, and any interaction with circumstances are all of the Path.[2]

According to Ma-Tsu's definition of "Ordinary mind", any (including normal) judgment is not necessary and indeed is against the Path. But what is the normal mind without judgment? What is artificial in the normal mind about discriminating right from wrong, permanence from impermanence? And if no judgment is made, how can one take normal actions such as walking or standing,

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[2] HTC 119. 406c6-10. *Chiang-hsi Ma-tsu tao-i Ch'an-shih yu-lu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語錄).

or interacting with changing circumstances? Can most people apply these ideas in their daily lives? When Ch'an masters claim that Self-nature (or Buddha-nature) is intrinsic, do they not render it unverifiable? What sort of victory over artificiality is it for them to ask their students simply to "believe that one's own mind is the Buddha"?[3] What makes such belief non-artificial work?

"If a sentient being with a high capability incidentally encounters a hint from a well-learned person and becomes enlightened during the conversation," Ma-Tsu writes, "he suddenly realizes his original nature without need of experiencing various stages."[4] How many students have such a normal mind--one prone to enlightenment through hint and inference? There seem not many. In any case the talented student capable of "normal mind" must find a good teacher to enlighten him--in contrast to the historical Buddha and his disciples, who became enlightened through their own proper practice of precepts, meditation and wisdom. For the mediocre Ch'an student, it seems there is nothing they can do: they can neither rely on themselves, nor are they worthy of a teacher. These honest students seem forced to spend their lives imitating the "normal mind" without making, and perhaps by refraining from making their own moral judgments, while so-called sophisticated students do what they like by following their own "ordinary mind." It seems that the Ch'an principles of no-thought, ordinary mind and absence of judgment cause the Ch'an School prosperity and corruption.

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3 HTC. 119. 405d18. "汝等諸人各信自心是佛". *Chiang-hsi Ma-tsu tao-i Ch'an-shih yu-lu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語錄).

4 HTC 119. 406b10-11. *Chiang-hsi Ma-tsu tao-i Ch'an-shih yu-lu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語錄).

III. Morality in the later period of the Ch'an School

Most Buddhist schools declined and never recovered after the persecutions (841-846 C.E.) by T'ang emperor Wu-Tzung. Only the Ch'an and Pure Land Schools fully recovered. Through its characteristics of self-sufficiency and energetic practice, the Ch'an School resuscitated itself from persecution with speed, and earned nationwide popularity. However, its teaching style changed under the circumstances. During the T'ang period, the principle of no-thought, neither thinking wholesomely nor unwholesomely became the goal of monastic practice, including moral practice. During this period, the primary moral basis of spiritual cultivation in Indian Buddhism is rarely mentioned. This situation changed during the Sung Dynasty.

Ch'an-lin pao-hsun (禪林寶訓), *Precious Admonitions from Ch'an Monasteries,* is a collection of Ch'an masters' admonitions between Huang-Lung Hui-Nan (黃龍慧南, 1002-1069 C.E.), the eleventh generation after Nan-Yueh Huai-Jang (南嶽懷讓, 677-744 C.E.) and Fo-Ch'ao Ts'uo-An (佛照拙菴, dates unknown), the sixteenth generation. Originally it was compiled by Ch'an master Miao-Hsi Pu-Chueh (妙喜普覺, dates unknown) and Ch'u-An Shih-Guei (竹菴士圭, dates unknown). During the period of Emperor Tsuen-Hsi (純熙, 1174-1189 C.E.) of the Southern Sung Dynasty , Ching-Shan (淨善) obtained it from an old monk, Tsu-An (祖安), after it had been partially lost. Ching-Shan then recompiled it into a book of 300 segments by referring to various *Recorded Sayings* and biographies. The purpose, he writes, is to "let learners cut off snobbishness and personal disputes, and move toward morality and humanity

(道德仁義)."[5] This book was popular among Ch'an monasteries and used as an instruction book for novice monks. There are five commentaries in the Hsu-Tsang-Ching (續藏經).[6] A current commentary *Hui-hsiao-nu-ma-chieh-Ch'an-chi* (嘻笑怒罵皆禪機)[7] by Rev. Sheng-Yi (聖印) is based on the commentaries in the HTC.

The book of *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* (禪林寶訓) has emerged as a major source for the study of moral concepts in later periods of Ch'an school. As the compiler writes in the preface, the book seeks to promote moral teaching, unlike the books of the *Recorded Sayings* or *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*, which are composed of general Ch'an sermons. This book is primarily concerned with ethical topics. However, upon serious study we discover it to be a collection of fragments of moral talks by Ch'an masters, and following no systematic idea. Its contents are not arranged chronically or in any order. Mostly the moral concepts derive from Chinese culture and sometimes depart from the spirit of Buddhism. In a sense, then, it reflects the deterioration of Chinese Buddhism at the time. The following discussions are based on selected topics.

Because of the claim "not to rely on words," Ch'an masters tended not to talk in Buddhist terminology. Instead they use local language or vernacular to express their ideas. Thus the Precepts (戒) and Vinaya (律) are seldom

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5 T 48. 1016b. Ch'an-lin pao-hsun hsu (禪林寶訓序, The Preface the *Precious Admonishes from Ch'an Monastereis*).

6 HTC 113. (Hsin-wen-fun Press).

7 Ed. Sheng-yin.Ch'an-lin pao-hsun hsu (禪林寶訓), The Preface the *Precious Admonishes from Ch'an Monastereis*) (Taipei: Yuan-ming Press, 1993).

mentioned in the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*. Rather, sinicized terms, such as *tao-te* (道德), morality, *li-yi* (禮義), propriety/justice, *ch'eng-hsin* (誠信), sincerity/faithfulness, are used throughout the book. There is no definition of *tao-te* (道德), *tao* (道), or *te* (德) in the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*. However, the etymology of the *tao-te* reveals a compound word of *tao* (道) and *te* (德): *tao* signifying way, path, order, nature, truth, and *te* in most cases meaning virtue, good conduct or quality in a person. Thus the term for morality is built from the concept, "the way of virtue," or "the truth of good conduct." Generally speaking, these terms represent a broadly Chinese ideal to be realized by human being through ethical practice--and not an ideal exclusively Buddhist. The *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* starts with a segment praising the moral ideal, with the words of Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung (明教契嵩,1007-1072 C.E.): "Nobleness is never superior to Tao (道), beauty is never superior to Virtue (德). If one has morality (道德), he is not poor although he may be alone (without social belonging). If one does not have morality, he is not prosperous although he may possess the world.... Therefore, a practitioner whether he is filled with morality, not whether he has a powerful position."[8] It is clear that the emphasis on morality runs contrary to early Ch'an masters' practice of no thought, of neither thinking wholesomely nor unwholesomely.

During the time of Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung, Buddhism and Taoism were being attacked and suppressed by the court officials and Confucianists. Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung went to the palace to stop this negative trend and reconciled the tension between Buddhism and Confucianism by claiming that the three

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[8] T 48. 1016b. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* (禪林寶訓, *The Prefcious Admonishes from Ch'an Monasteries*).

teachings of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism are in harmony and complementary to each other. His thought and earnest affected many people at the time. His morality particularly valued filial piety. In his analects, he stated:

> Filial piety is the commencement of the great precepts... Precepts....are the source of wholesome deeds. Without precepts, how can wholesome deeds be produced? Without filial piety, where is the starting point for precepts? That is why the sutra says, "What leads me rapidly realize the path of Supreme Truth is the virtue of filial piety."[9]

Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung treats filial piety as the foundation of the precepts. As noted throughout this study, filial piety is Chinese concept. Some of its content actually conflict with Buddhism arising from Indian culture. For instance, the *Book of Filial Piety* (孝經) says: "There are three unfilial things. The most serious one is the absence of offspring." This concept runs against the rules of Buddhist clerics, who must maintain a life of celibacy. If Ming-Chiao Ch'i-sung's reconciliation were true, a Buddhist should first fulfill the duty of filial piety to start his precepts and wholesome deeds. Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung apparently glossed over such difficulties.

The Ideal Abbot

Most parts of the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* focus on qualities of a good abbot, the leader of the monastery, and two in particular. One is the abbot as moral

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9 T 52. p. 660b. *T'an-chin wen-chi* (鐔津文集).孝名爲戒,...夫孝也者,大戒之所先也。戒也者,眾善之所以生也。爲善微戒,善何生耶?爲戒微孝,戒何自耶?

model to the monastic members. The other is abbot's skill at managing the institution.. These two are related, as is apparent in the following selection:

> The Ch'an master Yueh (遠) said: "Nothing more important than examining the selection of the abbot. When selection is decided, external dangers are correspondingly decided. But as the monastery's safety is not formed in one day, danger is neither formed in one day. Both come from gradual accumulation, which cannot be neglected. Managing (住持) a monastery with morality will accumulate morality; managing with propriety/justice (禮義) will accumulate propriety/justice; managing with stinginess will accumulate enmity. If an abbot accumulates enmity, then both people inside and outside the monastery will turn their back on him. If he accumulates propriety and justice, then people both inside and outside the monastery will be peaceful and contented...."[10]

This passage indicates that choosing to act morally and properly constitutes the first priority in leading and managing the monastery. The same notion appears in the following passage:

> Kao-an (高庵)[11] says: "The range of cultivation is very broad, but nothing is more important than morality and propriety/justice (道德禮義). If the abbot respects morality, then his followers will choose politeness; if the abbot conducts himself with propriety/justice (禮義), then his followers will feel ashamed at [their own] greed. If the abbot shows a rude appearance on his face, his followers will learn the defect of transgressive insult. If the abbot shows an angry face at a dispute, then his followers will learn the calamity of attacking each other..."[12]

Being virtuous is not enough for an abbot: he must treat his followers with the favor of the Patriarch Yen (演),[13] who said: "The great power of an abbot lies in

10 T 48. 1018a. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

11 T 48. 1018a. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

12 T 48. 1027a. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

13 Ch'an master Fa-yen (法演, ?-1104), the thirteenth generation after Nan-yehn (南嶽).

favor (惠) and virtue (德). The two must go in parallel; neither can be absent. Without the abbot's virtue, people will not [learn] respect; without [the abbot's] favor, people will not [come to] appreciate."[14] Patriarch Yen gave a psychological explanation of the attributes of an abbot to Fo-Chien (佛鑑):

> [It is] essential for an abbot to treat everybody with generosity and to treat himself thriftily. Beside this, [he need] never worry about tedious matters. [It is essential to approach] people with trust. [It is essential to] take their opinions seriously. One whose opinion [the abbot has taken] seriously will respect [the abbot] automatically. Those who are trusted by the abbot will appreciate the abbot. With his followers' respect, the masses will obey without [need for] restrictive rules. With followers' respect, [the abbot's] work will be completed automatically, without [unnecessary] orders being given. Naturally, both the wise and the foolish will develop a common goal, and clerics of high and low rank will try their best. Compared with those who reluctantly obey under the pressure of power and coercion, there is a difference of ten thousand times.[15]

Of course, in Yen's teaching, a virtuous abbot's showing favor to his followers is to be distinguished from his giving favors to monastic members. Chan-T'ang's (湛堂,dates unknown) teaching suggests that a moral person will favor the populace (of monastic members), while an immoral person will favor himself. The person favoring the (monastic) populace will endure, while the person favoring himself will collapse... Sharing concern with the populace is, then, a manifestation of justice (義), and in the words of a well-known proverb, "no one in the world will stay away from the place where justice is located."[16]

14 T 48. 1019a. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

15 T 48. 1019b. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

16 T 48. 1022b. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

Yuan-Wu (圓悟, 1068-1135) describes the importance and sequential effects of managing a monastery with consensus (人情) :

> Managing the monastery without obtaining a consensus (人情) of the monastic populace [ensures that] the monastery will not be managed well. Finding consensus without diligently keeping contact with the monastic populace [ensures that] consensus will not be found. Contacting the monastic populace without distinguishing the virtuous from the unworthy [ensures that] the populace will not be well contacted. Distinguishing the virtuous from the unworthy by avoiding censures and favoring compliant words [ensures that] the virtuous and unworthy will not be distinguished. Only those virtuous and understanding people who neither reject censures nor are pleased with compliant words...can really find consensus among the monastic populace and effectively manage the monastery.[17]

Here, consensus refers agreement among the virtuous clerics in the monastery. A passage by Ling-Yuan (靈源) explains why a good abbot should care about the opinion of the monastic populace:

> A good abbot will take the mind of populace as his own mind and never have a selfish mind. The same for the eyes and ears. He will thereby understand the will and consensus of the monastic populace. If an abbot uses the mind, ears, eyes of the populace as his own mind, ears, and eyes, then his [choice of] worthy and unworthy reflect the [choice of] worthy and unworthy of the populace. He does not need to use henchmen... However, even when using henchmen, a virtuous and understanding person uses them to help find his own fault, to join himself to the desire of the monastic populace without recourse to personal favoritism, so as to causes none of the populace to lose their loyalty to him. If, on the other hand, a foolish and unworthy person uses henchmen to seek others' faults, [he] violates the desire of the populace and indulges in personal desire. In this case, none of the populace will keep loyalty to him. An abbot who shares a common will with the populace is a virtuous person (賢哲), while an abbot who violates the desires of the populace is called mediocre.[18]

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17 T 48. 1025a.*Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*

18 T 48. 1023c-1024a. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

An abbot must, in short, behave himself morally and pay attention to monastic consensus. If the theory of monastic consensus sounds reasonable, though, the traditional commentators provide no solid example to show the kind of monastic consensus an abbot should follow. What kind of virtuous or moral deeds should an abbot take? Some passages provide a partial answer. The abbot should have pure moral fortitude, "maintaining no personal favorite on anything," as a dictum goes. Otherwise, as the commentators repeat, he will be harmed by external forces and lose the faithfulness of his followers.[19] Thrift is also to be praised. As Fo-Chien (佛鑑) says, his late master kept a bowl bag and a shoe bag for fifty years with numerous patches on them, without any intention of abandoning them.[20]

Still, we might ask, what constitutes the abbot's favor--that is, assistance--to monastic populace? Two examples are commonly given. Hui-T'ang (晦堂, 1025-1100) says that his late master was very strict to monastic members. Most of them were rejected when they asked for a vacation for various reasons. But when he heard someone wanted to visit his parents on the vacation, he suddenly responded with sincerity and respect, and provided the monk with fee for the journey.[21] This story shows a dispassionate, clear-thinking assistance. Another passage shows the sort of assistance the abbot can do for monastic members caring about the ill and aged:

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[19] T 48. 1025b. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

[20] T 48. 1025b. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

[21] T 48. 1020b. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun*

Kao-An (高菴)[22] resided in Yun-Chu (雲居). Whenever he heard that a monastic member was moved to the Hall of Life Extension (延壽堂),[23] he would [feel] sadly as if the patient were his son. He would visit the patient day and night, cook herbs for the patient and taste it before giving it to the patient. When it became colder, he would touch the patient's back and ask if his clothes were too thin. In the summer time, he would examine patient's face and asked if it was too warm. In case the illness was incurable, he would provide the patient with a good funeral service no matter where the establishment of the diseased was.[24]

The story of the good abbot makes the reader feel touched and warm, but the facts are not so ideal. Weak people become a burden in every group. Aging and illness are two inevitable confrontations for human and all sentient beings. Lay people may obtain help from family and relatives. Clerics such as Buddhist monks or nuns, who renounce family ties, are supposed to support each other in the monastery. But not everyone, even clerics, has enough patience and compassion. Young and healthy people without patience or compassion will not tolerate the burden of aged or ill people, even though these young people know that they themselves soon or later will become aged and ill. And during a period of corruption, abuse of the aged and the ill is not an unusual phenomena in monasteries. Kao-An (高菴) criticizes just such corruption:

> The so-called monastic establishment (常住) was originally settled for those aged and ill bhikksus, who were incapable of begging.... Now I have heard that some monastic abbots ignoring the principle of cause and effect are not accepting old monks. This constitutes a serious rebellion against the Buddha's spirit and against the system of Buddhism. If they are not allowed to stay in monasteries, where should old monks go?... The Buddha himself sometimes skipped [the formality of] offering invitation, and [spontaneously] stayed in monasteries to inspect [condition of their] lodges and [their capacities to] take care of the ill.

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22 The fifteenth generation after Nan-yueh.

23 A medicare department in the monastery.

24 T 48. 1026c. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

This provided a model for monastic populace. Nowadays, however, abbots have been using the financial sources of the establishment recklessly to fulfill their personal desires for appetite and clothing, and to seek connection with dignities. They separate the aged and ill and confiscate their belongings, showing no trace of Buddha-mind or Buddha-conduct. How sad it is! How sad it is! The virtuous ancestor said, 'Old monks are the glorious models of the monastery.' Nowadays, there is no old monk for every hundred monastic members. Since the aged are not welcome, longevity becomes useless and dying young becomes a better choice.[25]

Kao-An's passage describes a critical situation in the monastery in the later period of the Ch'an school. During the early period, the abbot of a Ch'an monastery was well-learned and experienced enough to lead monastic members in the religious practice. Monks come from all directions to seek for instruction. During the period of deterioration, abbots become greedy butchers to the aged and ill monks.

When a person's mind--including a monk's mind--is full of personal interest and lacking in a sense of morality and humanity, any kind of action can be taken. In addition to abandoning weak clerics, other undesirable actions are criticized in various passages of the traditional commentaries. Currying favor with dignitaries is particularly singled out: "In the period of the Final Dharma (末法), bhikksus do not cultivate morality, lack integrity and justice (節義). They tend to offer bribes (to dignitaries), wave their tails for pitiful favor, and chase fame and interest to the doors of dignitaries."[26] When writing to dignitaries, these types of abbots will with false humility call themselves

25 T 48. 1027b.*Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

26 T 48. 1021b.*Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

"Student Monk" (門僧), rather than use the title, "Monastic Elder" (長老), and will call the dignitary "Appreciable Official" (恩府).[27]

Since the abbot has the authority to control the whole monastery, the position of abbot is vulnerable to becoming a stepstone for personal interest, and some monks without scruples do try by any means to use it this way: "Bhiksus, [one who] violates the dharma and [who is] controlled by the devil, deceives at ease, pretends to be well-learned, proclaims certain great Ch'an masters as his lineage master (師承), and flatters powerful dignitaries as also his lineage member... This sort of leader should let lay people ascend the [abbot's] seat and prostrate himself under the seat."[28] For the corrupt, taking the position of abbot means that the whole monastery becomes his personal belonging, "which is used to please dignities, support secular families and treat personal friends, without any concern for the properties of the establishment."[29] This sort of corruption leads some concerned commentators to suffer and scream for the fall of Buddhism. "None of abbots wants to make the monastery prosperous, and rarely can make it so, because they forget morality, abandon kindness and justice (仁義), discard the system of rules and indulge in personal favoritism."[30] What the commentators call "the loss of virtue" (失德) results when one cannot straighten himself up but still tries to straighten others up. What they term "the

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[27] T 48. 1027c. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.* Monastic abbot is also called "Elder"(長老)

[28] T 48. 1028a. *Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

[29] T 48. 1028b.*Ch'an-lin-pao-hsun.*

[30] T 48. 1033b. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

rebellion against propriety" (悖禮) results when one cannot respect himself but still try to respect others.[31]

Those whose actions--not making friends with dignities, not chasing fame and benefit--oppose this kind of corruption are highly praised. A certain director named Te-Kuan Shou-Tso (德貫首座) secluded himself in the Ching-Hsing-Yen monastery (景星巖) for thirty years. According to legend, his shadow never appeared outside the mountain. When a county magistrate once asked him to take the seat of the abbot of Jui-Yen Ch'an-Ch'a (瑞巖禪刹), he rejected it and was praised as an outstanding monk.[32] Hsui-An (水菴)[33] relates a similar example:

> During the period when Yueh-T'ang (月堂)[34] took the seat of the abbot, wherever he went, he only put his mind on [religious matters] and never sent [fund-raising] solicitors, or visited noble dignitaries. The yearly living expenditure of monastic members merely depended on the [non-solicited] income of monastic establishment. Although there were some monks who moved to become solicitors voluntarily, Yueh-T'ang rejected them all. Someone asked him, "The Buddha regulated his disciples to beg for living, why don't you, master, allow us to do the same?" Yueh-T'ang answered, "That was alright during the Buddha's time. Nowadays I am afraid that if we do so, there will be some people eager for benefits and to trade themselves off."[35]

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31 T 48. 1030a *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

32 T 48. 1029c.*Ch'an-lin pao-hsun. Ch'an-lin pao-hsun pi-shuo* (禪林寶訓), HTC 113.364d-365a.

33 The sixteenth generation after Nan-yueh.

34 The fourteenth generation after Master Ch'ing-yuan (青原).

35 T 48. 1035a.*Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.Ch'an-lin pao-hsun pi-shuo* (禪林寶訓說), HTC 113.387b-c.

Hsui-An praises Yueh-T'ang's insight and his preventative measures to treat corruption. At the time of the Buddha, begging alms and food was an acceptable Indian customs for Śramanas (沙門). In Chinese circumstances, as well-noted in this study, a beggar's social status was degraded. Thus Hsui-An discouraged it, fearing it would cause personal corruption.

Aside from moral principles and managing expertise for an abbot, the importance of virtue, in the sense of not exposing other people's personal secrets (隱私), runs through the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.* Here "personal secrets" refers to any sort of immoral conduct. One passage in the text comments that committing mistake is human, but it is wholesome to know and correct the error: "Misconduct is inevitable in anybody, whether a top-wise man or a bottom-foolish man. However, wise men are able to convert misconduct to virtue conduct, while fools tend to hide their faults."[36] The passage encourages people--including monastic members to find and correct their own mistakes and misconduct. Often however, Chinese people as a habit do not encourage one another to criticize or expose one another's faults. Open, disinterested criticism is not altogether embraced by Chinese Buddhists, as in the following passage:

> Kao-An resided at Yun-Chu (雲居). When he found a monk attacking other's hidden unwholesomeness (隱惡), he would gently advise him, 'Things should not be done this way. Being a monastic member, one's first priority should be on the cultivation of the Path. Harmony is the way of personal cultivation (修身). Why indulge in love and hate to ruin other peoples' activity (行止)?' Kao-An is so considerate.[37]

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36 T 48.1024c. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

37 T 48.1027a. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

In the Chinese monastic system, daily conduct and moral standards have almost always followed Chinese custom. It is critical to note that the system of Pure Rule was developed mainly as a set of rules for monastic administration, not explicitly as a moral code. Only major moral codes, such as the five precepts, were enjoined. In the monastery, Buddhist novices studied Chinese classics of Confucianism and Taoism before they learned the Buddhist scriptures, which studies provided the foundation of their moral training--a foundation broadly Chinese, not exclusively Buddhist. Not talking about other peoples' unwholesome deeds, for example, has long been considered a virtue in Chinese morality. Chinese Buddhists accepted it without reservation.

However, a different view emerges from the teachings of early Buddhism. According to the Vinaya, a transgressor who commits major and light offenses must go through a procedure of confession and repentance. This is to release the transgressor's psychological burden, which will obstruct the efficiency of cultivation. After the procedure of confession and repentance is completed, the transgressor regains pure status, and the issue is never mentioned again. If a transgressor is unaware of his violation or is unwilling to reveal his violation, witnessing members may report it to the Sangha in good will, for the good sake of the transgressor and monastic community.

In the Chinese Buddhist view, "attacking other peoples' hidden unwholesomeness" or exposing their misconduct is not considered a virtue. Kao-An's view is that cultivation is the first priority of a monk. Harmony is the purpose of cultivation. Attacking other people's hidden unwholesomeness breaks harmony and ruins other peoples' activities ("attacking" being the term

used for criticism). Does such a view accord with the Buddhism of the Buddha? The Buddha did "attack" the thought of other religions. He criticized various wrong views proposed by various religionists. He let disciples or involved people speak out and solve problems. Apparently, "criticism" itself should not be a problem.

The problem is the conceptual overlap between "criticize" and "slander." To criticize is to analyze and judge as a critic, by the dictionary definition, or to censure.[38] To slander is to utter the false statements that damage another person's character or reputation.[39] In Chinese culture, avoiding judging peoples conduct publicly is treated as a good virtue, and the contrary view is not encouraged or even discouraged. It is thought that judging people will ruin fame or social image. In short, in Chinese culture, criticism is usually equated with slander. Kao-An apparently failed to see that if "hidden unwholesomeness" is true, then "attacking others' hidden unwholesomeness" does not constitute slander, although the critic might speak emotionally. Kao-An should have allowed for a proper situation to let people speak out, and should have articulated a method for teaching people how to "attack" misconduct with kindness and compassion, rather than shutting peoples' mouths. If Kao-An's view is right, then Buddha should not have set up a Vinaya or any moral code for the Sangha.

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38 *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*. (Willian Collins Press, 1980), p. 336b.

39 Ibid., p. 1337a.

The deficiency in making the distinction between criticism and slander shows that the praise given to Kao-An--deservedly in many instances--is selective, and perhaps at times blind. The text's claim that "among the disciples of Fo-Yen (佛眼), only Kao-An (高菴) stands tough and does not approach private/personal relationship (人情). He does not have any personal favorite and accomplishes his job without the support of any clique"[40]--appears hypocritical in light of Kao-An's position on criticism of other members' mistakes. Silence toward failure amounts to a tacit form of favoritism. The statement "by private/personal relationship" seems not to correspond to Kao-An's soft attitude toward people's hidden unwholesomeness.

IV. Conclusion

Because of the problem of not distinguishing between criticism and slander, it is difficult to find an ideal of morality without complication among early Ch'an masters. Their teaching of "thinking neither of wholesome nor unwholesome" appears as a license for people to do whatever they want. And with what consequence?

In the later period, the quality of monastic abbots declined, and the quality of abbot become a popular topic among those concerned about monastic leadership. It was inevitable that Chinese monks were influenced by Chinese traditions, especially Confucianism and Taoism. Many failed to see that there is nothing wrong with Chinese monks expressing difficulty with Chinese traditional

40 T 48.1025c. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.*

terms, such as Tao-te (道德), path and virtue, Jen-yi (仁義), kindness and justice, and Ch'eng-hsin (誠信), sincerity and faithfulness. While the moral foundation articulated in the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* became the fundamental moral statement for monastic leaders,[41] it failed to impart a coherent view of morality, and at points it condoned certain moral concepts contradictory to the doctrine and the spirit of Buddhism.

Some monastic leaders thought that virtue and universal benefit to others must come together for an abbot to be considered good, while others thought that an abbot with morality will naturally favor particular people. Chi-Sung asserted that filial piety takes first priority among all the precepts and wholesome deeds, as, he said, it is written in the sutra: "the virtue of filial piety accelerates the realization of enlightenment." However, in the Vinaya, there is no precept relating to Chinese "filial piety". Ch'i-Sung did not give the name of the sutra which he quoted from. According to contemporary studies, those sutras promoting filial piety are Chinese Buddhist apocrypha which were created in order to adapt Buddhism to Chinese cultural conditions.[42] Ch'i-Sung's assertion may be understandable given the exigencies of the period in which he lived, when Confucians and palace courts showed severe hostility toward Buddhism. Modern readers might wonder whether he is in fact a closet Confucian.

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[41] T 48.1034c. *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun.* Fo-chi (佛智) said: "Abbot consists of four essences: 1) Path-virtue (道德, Tao-te), 2) speech-action (言行, Yen-hsing), 3) kindness-justice (仁義, Jen-yi), 4) propriety-rule (禮法, li-fa). Path-virtue-speech-action is the root of teaching. Kindness-justice-propreity-rule is the branch of teaching." Actually, the latter three items are the marks of the first, Path-virtue or morality.

[42] 牧田諦亮 疑經の研究. (Japan: 中村社, 1976), p. 49-50.

Jen-ch'ing (人情), the virtue of consensus, also forms a moral foundation, particularly for monastic leadership. A good abbot is enjoined to obtain or find out jen-ch'ing (得人情). One passage, however, praises the abbot Kao-An's "standing tough," his not approaching jen-ch'ing (不近人情). Literally, jen-ch'ing (人情) means "peoples' feeling." To resolve the contradiction posed by the two cases, the first jen-ch'ing must be interpreted as "consensus" of the monastic populace, and the second jen-ch'ing as private/personal relationship, in which case not approaching jen-ch'ing means not allowing lobbyists and favoritism.

From the *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*, it appears that later Ch'an masters' concept of morality have become sinicised to the point of losing some of the essence of Buddhism.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

1. The Deference of Custom and Culture

Indian and Chinese customs differed with regard to the ideals of religious action. Poverty, mendicancy, celibacy and homelessness formed acceptable vehicles for spiritual growth in India: the individual who undertook them did so not just for himself or herself, but on behalf of the entire society insofar as they received the support of lay persons. In China, by contrast, where a strict work ethic formed the backbone of social ethics, poverty, mendicancy, homelessness, and the independence of mind to break social and family ties earned widespread scorn. The tradition of relying on alms not only failed to take root in China, but its rejection formed a principal point of departure in the reformation of the Vinaya and the creation of an indigenous Chinese monasticism, a process which began with the experiments of Pai-Chang during his residency in Pai-Chang Mountain, and which eventually flowered into the Pure Rule. This monastic reformation combined several critical factors.

First, the reformation incorporated into Buddhism important elements of Confucian and Taoist thought, particularly the tradition of filial piety. The tradition of filial piety strongly encouraged people to obey their parents, and to respect themselves and their bodies. According to the popular notion of filial piety, not only ethical values, but the body, skin and hair were given by parents--and so ought not be destroyed or hurt. Monks who left home to go far away, who shaved their hair and undertook a life

of celibacy thus were guilty of violating filial piety. Beyond filial piety, the Chinese believed their culture to define civilization. When Buddhism came from India, many Chinese people viewed the India they imagined as a country of barbarians. Their sense of cultural superiority generated resistance to the adoption of Buddhism, which was seems as a religion of the uncivilized.[1] Under these circumstances, the Chinese rebuilt Buddhism into a religion suitable to Chinese society and customs.

Second, Buddhism came to incorporate forms of governmental regulation prevalent in China. During the Sui, T'ang and Sung dynasties, the Ch'an School flourished through the support of emperors who established monasteries in every major cities, and who used the imperial court to make appointments for monks. During the T'ang Dynasty in particular, monasteries proliferated, governed by the imperial court according to three principles--Shang-Tso (上座), Ssu-Chu (寺主), and Wei-Na (維那), which corresponded to the three principal administrative departments within the monasteries. Candidates for these departments were nominated by members of all the Sangha, and then appointed by the government, in a harmonious collaboration.

Later Chinese Buddhism encountered four persecutions.[2] Each persecution included the destruction of Buddhist images, the burning of Sutras, and the forcing the

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[1] Pachow W. *Chinese Buddhism: Aspects of Interaction and Reinterpretation.* (USA: Uniersity Press of America, Inc., 1980), p. 89-90.

[2] The Chinese speak of the Four Persecutions of Buddhism in China as those of the "Three Wu and One Tsung (三武一宗)." These refer to persecutions under three Emperors who are known by the same posthumous name, Wu-tsung, and one known as Shih-tsung. The first was in the year 446 under Wu-tsung of the Northern Wei Dynasty; the second was in 574 under Wu-tsung of Northern Chou Dynasty; the third was in 845 under Wu-tsung of

monks and nuns to return to secular life. As a result of these persecutions, Buddhism declined after the later T'ang Dynasty. The Ch'an School alone recovered fully. However, under internal and external pressure, it gradually fell into decadence. In the words of Yin-Shun, "...Tai-Tsu (太祖) of the Ming Dynasty was influenced by Confucianism, and did not allow Buddhism to be drawn in to the politics and mundane affairs...and so forced monks and nuns to live in the mountains, not letting them stray... Thus the Ch'an School became known as 'mountain Buddhism'..."[3]

During the Sung Dynasty, as the Ch'an School regained its popularity, monasteries reprinted the scriptures, rebuilt their buildings, and situated Buddhism as the religion of the gentry and intelligentsia. Ch'an during this period emphasized iconoclasm: it maintained no reverence for religious literature, images, or rituals. Rather it emphasized the mind-to-mind, personal, spontaneous transmission of insight form teacher to disciple. A credo from the later Sung Dynasty reflected this iconoclasm: "[This is] a transmission outside of teaching, not relying on words and characters, directly pointing at man's mind, seeing one's nature and realizing Buddhahood."[4]

Through centuries of transmission and adaptation, Chinese Buddhism eventually became a unique and integral part of Chinese culture, a fusion of Indian

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T'ang Dynasty; and the last in 955 under Shih-tusng of the short-lived laster Chou. Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, Edwin O Reischauer. (New York: 1955).

3 Yin-Shun. *The Collective Works of Dharma Rains.* (5.vols) *(Hua-Yu-Chi 華雨集)*, vol.5., (Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1993), p. 150.

4 HTC 17, p. 135a. Hsu-Tsang Ching 續藏經. Cf. Buswell, Robert E. & Gimello, Robert M. *Paths to Liberation: The Marga and Its Transssfomations in Buddhist Thought.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1992), p. 326.

Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and folk religion. Indeed, the three religions became like three legs of a tripod. Their teachings and philosophies influenced and complemented each other. A popular saying held that "Confucianism is for social ethics, Taoism for the physical body, and Buddhism for compassion for all creatures." In this vein, the Emperor Hsiao-Tzung (孝宗) of the Sung Dynasty (1163-1190 CE), in his commentary, *On the Primordial Tao*, states: "Use Buddhism to perfect the heart, Taoism to nourish the body, and Confucianism to govern the world. Only then will all things go well."[5] The three religions formed a single cultural complex, a distinctively Chinese forum of social discourse.

As the full ordinational monks increased and the building of monasteries increased during the Sung period, it became necessary to distinguish between Taoist and Buddhist temples. The Sung Emperor, Shen-Tzung (神宗), ordered that Buddhist monastery be called Ch'an-Yuan, and that a palace designed as kuan be established for Taoism. Detail is given in Chapter 2, section 2. As schools likewise proliferated during the period, Ch'an spread across the country. Teaching centered on the transmission of the Lankavatara sutra, which originated with Bodhidharma himself. According to legend, Bodhidharma told his disciple, Hui-K'o: "I observe this land-- [and conclude that] in China, only this sutra will be beneficial. If you depend upon it, you shall save beings in this world."[6] Teaching during the period also centered on Bodhidharma's instruction known as the "two entrances by reason and the four by practice." Details are found in Chapter 2, section 3.

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5 Saso, Michael R., trans. and ed. *Buddhist Studies in the People's Republic of China*. (Honolulu: Tendai Education Foundation, 1992), p.36.

6 *HTC.* 17. p. 135c.

From Bodhidharma's transmission of the Dharma into China until the Sixth patriarch, the Ch'an School divided into two main branches. The branch known as the Northern Ch'an School of Shen-Hsiu was distinguished by its gradualist approach to enlightenment. The Southern Ch'an School of Hui-Neng, by contrast, emphasized enlightenment as a sudden phenomenon. The Platform Sutra articulates the difference as a matter of individual capability: "There is only one Dharma, but there is rapid and slow realization of Dharma. The slow realization is called gradual, while rapid realization is called sudden. Based on peoples' sharp and dull capabilities, there are forms gradual and sudden enlightenment."[7] This explanation is, however, not factual, but implies a normative distinction between the so-called Southern Sudden Ch'an and Northern Gradual Ch'an (南頓北漸), namely that the Southern school is superior, and the "sudden" approach suitable for people with high capability.

This study is limited in the lineages it treats. It focuses on the lineage from Bodhidharma to Hui-Neng, Shen-Hsiu, Nan-Yueh, Ma-Tsu, Pai-Chang, and his disciples Kuei-Shan, Yang-Shan, Huang-Po and Lin-Chin. The study treats Pai-Chang and his reformation as the pivot point in this lineage.

2. Monasticism's Founder

Pai-Chang founded what became distinctively Ch'an monasticism. Monastic reformation began after he and other Ch'an masters had lived in the Vinaya monastery, and found that many codes did not fit the needs of Ch'an's practitioners. Pai-Chang grounded his changes in a statement of radical openness: "My sect is not limited to

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7 T 48. 342b4-5.

Mahayana or Hinayana, and is not different from Mahayana or Hinayana. It is a Middle Path for establishing a code to organize monastic affairs to fit its purpose and necessity."[8]

The important differences between the Pure Rule and the Vinaya monastic systems pivot on issues of group practice. The Pure Rule emphasizes group performance, the routines of daily life and observance of the monastic schedule. It is less concerned with the personal conduct of individual monks. The Buddha's commandment "do not kill" engendered the Vinaya precept that monks should not dig the earth or plant vegetables to prevent the possibility of killing creatures of the soil. This precept reflects the Buddha's compassion for all sentient beings, not only human beings. The Pure Rule, by contrast, allows monks to plant agricultural fields. Pai-Chang's reasoned that agricultural labor formed an essential part of monastic self-sufficiency, and also could be a vehicle--along with other ordinary tasks--for spiritual practice. His inclusion of agricultural work as part of monastic precepts challenged the attachment monks following the Vinaya practice developed to not performing manual labor. His transformation of manual labor into a means of transmission of the Buddha-dharma was at once radical and traditional: radical in its break with Indian custom, traditional in its concordance with Chinese social mores.

Yin-Shun comments on the originality of Chinese monastic practice: "During the Buddha's time, there was complete reliance on the Vinaya. When Buddhism was spread into China, Chinese clerics created monasticism."[9] Such a view diminishes the

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8 T 48, p. 1157-1158 *The Preface of Old Pure Rule.*

9 Yin-Shun. *The Collective Works of Dharma Rains. (Hua-Yu-Chi* 華雨集).(5 vols., Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1993), vol. 5, p. 70-71.

sense in which the Indian Vinaya itself was not merely a practice of individual cultivation, but of collective group practice--if perhaps less institutionalized, less bureaucratized group practice than the monasticism that developed under the Chinese Pure Rule. However much the Pure Rule departed from the Vinaya, it was built on the Vinaya's ideal of motivated individuals voluntarily gathering together to study, to meditate, to care for each other, to perform rituals, to criticize and admonish--understanding the qualitative difference between individual and group effort. The Vinaya was based on the insight that enlightenment for the individual became, in a sense, more available when the individual lived in interdependence with other seekers. Indeed, such social interdependence mirrored the ethical and metaphysical truths of Buddhist enlightenment. In short, the Vinaya system was based on the insight that group co-operation led and indeed *was* "right path."[10] From right path comes right understanding, social respect both for the monk and the teaching, and the spread of the Dharma.[11]

Pai-Chang altered and retained various precepts of the Vinaya concerning mundane living. The Vinaya permitted monks to eat one meal per day. The origin of the Indian precept was the Buddha's comment: "Monks, I do not eat in the evening. Because I avoid eating in the evening, I am in good health, [I am] light, energetic and live comfortably. Monks, you shall avoid eating in the evening, and you will have good health."[12] Thus the justification for the precept was that it encouraged monks to have

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[10] Yin-Shun. *The Buddha in the Human World (Jen-chien-fa chiao 人間佛教)*, (Reprint, Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1983), p. 120.

[11] Yin-Shun. *Buddhist Institution, Buddhist Tripitaka and Buddhist Education. (Chiao-chih Chiao-tien yu Chiao-hsueh 教制.教典與教學)*, (Reprint, Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1983), p. 91.

[12] Wijayaratna, Mohan. *Buddhist Monastic Life*. p. 69.

more time to practice and concentrate their mind, without worry about going out begging. In fact the concept of eating one meal a day is truly health for Ch'an practitioners. At the same time that the Buddha enjoined one meal a day, he also prohibited disciples from planting seeds in the ground to keep them from harming creatures living in the soil. Ch'an monastic life under the reformed Pure Rule centered around manual labor, which demanded an abrogation in the prohibition from planting, and also of the one-meal precept. The strenuous nature of manual labor lead Pai-Chang to institute a two-meal per day precept. Pai-Chang thus allowed Ch'an monks to have two meals per day, and even light meal during the evening which he called "medicinal food," to support the body and mind and to nourish the body for spiritual practice.

Ch'an Buddhist monks followed the Vinaya practice of wearing three robes, but modified their design and expanded their number. Robes in the Ch'an monastery included the patriarch's robe, which has ten thousand characters or Shou 壽 (lucky characters), the robe of the Thousand Buddhas' characters, the robe of seven parts which was provided for full ordinational monks and nuns, and the robe of five parts, offered for lay people.

Pai-Chang followed the Vinaya practice of keeping summer and winter retreats, which became a regular feature of Ch'an monastic practice. During the retreats, monks traveled to other monasteries for meditation and study. The retreats proved exceedingly effective at enhancing spiritual practice, and numerous disciples attained awakening during these retreats, chiefly by interjecting stimulating changes of practice from the ordinary forms of discipline.

Monastic vows taken under the Pure Rule certified in writing as well as orally and the document of certification became an important possession of monks, which they were expected to present when traveling. The Pure Rule taught that observance of the precept is like holding a jewel: the monk should be careful not to break it, and also to guard tender feeling for its beauty.

3. Monastic Regulation and Purpose

According to Pai-Chang's revised Pure Rule, there is no main chapel for the Buddha's image, but only a Fa-T'ang (Dharma Hall) for assembly. High-monks, including the abbot, despite their seniority, are required to live in a Fang-Chang (Ten-foot Cubicle). Other monks, whether junior or senior, are required to live in the Sangha Hall (Apartment for Monks). Its beds are linked together and occupied according to monks' seniority. There are also frames for them to hang their belongings. Additionally, monks are only allowed to lie on the frame of their beds for rest when feeling tired during the practice of meditation on their beds, a regulation known as the "Right Post" (the fortunate sleeping post). These four regulations guided domestic life in the reformed monastery.

At every assembly, according to the reformed regulations, members of the establishment gather together in the Dharma Hall. After the abbot arrives and seats himself, the other monks, arranged in columns at his two sides, stand and listen to the abbot's sermon or instruction. At that time they are entitled to ask questions on Buddhism. Central to the functioning of the reformed monastery is the injunction that

every monk, whether senior or junior, is to take up certain duties and to work for the maintenance of the institution. In administering monastic affairs, the abbot appoints ten officers, each of whom has an office entitled an "Office-hut." For instance, the superintendent of the monastic kitchen is called the Head of Rice-cooking, and the superintendent of the vegetable grove is called the Head of the Production of Vegetables. In contrast to the Indian Vinaya, which allowed one meal per day, the Pure Rule allows monks to take two meals per day. [13]

Tsang-Ning (贊寧) describes how Pai-Chang's primitive "Ch'ing-Kuei" (Pure Rule) was welcomed by Ch'an Buddhists: "...His rules are completely contrary to the rules promulgated by the Vinaya master. Ch'an Buddhists in the whole of China bow down to his rules like grass-blades blown by the strong wind. Owing to the work of Hai (Hai is Pai-Chang Haui-Hai), Ch'an Buddhists are released from the teaching of the Vinaya..."[14] In effect, the Pure Rule bureaucratized monastic life in drastically new and hard forms. The system made seniority and work the dual bases of management of monastic organization. Thus it was not freedom from labor, but duty that distinguished rank. The Pure Rule changed not only the outer trappings of monastic life--monks gave up the Indian system of three robes and one bowl, substituting a robe modeled on T'ang period clothing--but the substance as well, adopting the dictum, "one day without work, one day without eating." The new monasticism grew organically a Chinese Buddhist culture.[15] Until the time of Emperor Hui-Tzung (徽宗 ,1103 C.E.) of the Sung dynasty, when the collection of Tzung-I (宗賾) entitled

13 T 48, p. 1157-1158. *The Primitive Pure Rule.*

14 SKSC. P. 771a.

15 Shih, I-Jen. A Study of Sangha's Organization. Master Thesis. (Taipei: Chinese College Study in India, 1974). p. 98.

the *Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-kuei* became popular, Ch'an monasticism under the Ch'ing-Kuei (Pure Rule) functioned as an integrated model monastic organization.

Because social, not merely individual practice was essential, not optional, Pai-Chang maximized social harmony through what came to be known as the Six Principal Concords:

1) Bodily unity in the form of worship
2) Oral unity in charity
3) Mental unity in faith
4) Moral unity in observing the precepts
5) Doctrinal unity in views and explanations
6) Economic unity regarding goods, deeds, and studies

The purpose of the Six Principal Concords was to liberate monks from any possible conflict among themselves by unifying actions and intentions: a pure Sangha would result from the equal allotment of goods and labor, with an emphasis on the unity of regulation at every level. Such unity demanded submission of the individual will to group practice, through both observance and acceptance of discipline in the event of transgression. The virtue and merit that resulted from the Six Principal Concords created leadership, harmony and continuity.[16]

Debate continues among scholars as to the attribution of certain reformations to Pai-Chang. One scholar notes, for example, that "the modes of training that took

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[16] Yin-Shun. *Introduction to Buddhsim (fo-fa-kai-lun* 佛法概論) (Reprint, Taipei: Right Hearing Press, 1983), p. 215-216.

place in the Sangha hall, dharma hall, and abbot's quarters of Ch'an and other public monasteries are first found in a Sung text, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih (the Rule of Ch'an Door)*, and are not corroborated by any evidence surviving from the T'ang."[17] Another observes that "...many important public monasteries had been in existence long before they were arbitrarily designated as Ch'an establishments by the Sung court, and it provided a quasi-historical justitution. for the Ch'an school's domination of the Buddhist monastic institution."[18]

In perspective, however, *Pai-Chang's Pure Rule Re-modified under Imperial Decree* continuously stresses the importance of regulating monastic communal activities such as work, ritual, and teaching. Besides the practice of field labor and a strong work ethic (P'u-Ch'ing) for which Ch'an monasteries became known throughout China, Pai-Chang emphasized equal treatment for all monastic members with regard to clothing, food, sleeping arrangements and other aspects of daily living. The only exceptions to this equality of treatment and responsibility were illness and infirmity due to age. Such egalitarian, democratic practice was the social embodiment of spiritual cultivation. Labor and service became religious practices.

4. The Content of Monastic Pure Rule

The Ch'an master Te-Hui re-edited the Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei in 1335, during the Yuan Dynasty. The main references he used to compile redacted version include: the Preface of the Ancient Pure Rule, the Preface of the Ch'ung-Lin (叢林) Ching-

17 Ibid., p. 192.

18 Ebrey, Patricia Buckley & Peter N. Gregory. *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 192.

Kuei, the Preface of the Hsien-Shun (咸淳) Ch'ing-Kuei, and The Preface of the Chih-Ta (至大) Ch'ing-Kuei.

The Preface of the Ancient Ch'ing-Kuei in important respects established the tone of the re-edited version, particularly in its statement of four cardinal injunctions for good conduct and protection of the Sangha:

1) One must not cause trouble to the Sangha; one must be respectful and sincere in one's dealing with the Sangha.

2) All monks must comply with and respect the Buddha's regulations, so as not to destroy the Sangha's public reputation.

3) No one must make trouble with secular officials, so as to avoid lawsuit and prison.

4) One must not open unresolved affairs to the public.

The re-edited Pure Rule comprises nine chapters, which Te-Hui also terms "nine rules." Chapters 1 through 4 concern the ceremonies of emperors', Buddhas', and Ch'an patriarchs' deaths and anniversaries. Chapters 5 through 9 concern the duties of the Abbott, and of the two administrative wings of the monastery. One wing is responsible for the monastery's internal affairs, including food supply and preparation, managing work in the monastic fields, maintaining morale (P'u-Ch'ing) among all workers, and ritual observation (such as burning incense and bowing) in the Sangha Hall. The other wing is responsible for external affairs, including relations with lay agricultural tenants and diplomatic relations with government officials and with other monasteries. The posting of monks to their departments occurred every six

months, in January and July, to ensure honesty and quality of service. The management system expounded in the redacted Pure Rule proved flexible, effective and conducive to social harmony. The system worked both for small monasteries, and for monasteries of one hundred thousand monks.

The *Supplemental Commentary of the Pure Rule of Pai-Chang* further lists fourteen rules to facilitate monastic practice (see Chapter 5, Section 2). These rules do not form part of the redaction of Te-Hui, but were added by Yang-I during the Ching Dynasty. The modification shows that redaction of the Pure Rule was an ongoing process of adapting monastic practice to contemporary circumstances.

5. Monastic Teaching

The Dharma Hall forms Ch'an monastic educational center, where masters delivered sermons. Pai-Chang's influence on the art of the sermon as may be gathered from the literary qualities of the following sermon on spiritual purity: "Spiritual light shines in royal solitude, and is detachment from roots and dusts [the sense organs and their objects]. Radiating, it embodies the real and the eternal and is by no means conditioned by words and letters. The essence of the mind knows no defilement and is by itself originally in perfect fulfillment. Only if it is emancipated from illusory conditions will the mind be Buddha as such."[19] This theme--that if one knew the essence of the mind, one will attain the emancipation without need any words--inspired monks to ever higher levels of spiritual practice. At times his sermons proved

[19] T'ao-T'ien Yi, *Translations Records of the Life of Ch'an Master Pai-Chang Huai-Hai*. Eastern Buddhist, no.8:42-73, May, 1975.

enigmatic, as in his comment that "[t]here is Man who eats nothing all day and says nothing of his hunger; [t]here is another Man who eats all day and says nothing of his satiety."[20] The power of Pai-Chang's preaching clearly lay in his ability to penetrate the psychological depths of his listeners, while couching his insights in mild reproach. A board he hung in the meditation hall read, "Birth and death are grave events. How transient is life! Every minute is to be grudged: time waits for nobody."

Instruction in the meditation hall incorporated various approaches, including striking at pupils, shouting, hua-t'ou and kung-an. The kung-an technique, which brought about Yang-Shan's awakening, focused on patience and slow, sustained to cultivate spiritual aptitude. Ch'an masters also used the so-called "silent answer" to cultivate students, which could be as powerful as a sharp sword. Yang-Shan used silence as his answer to his master Kuei-Shan. Elsewhere Ch'an masters used a doubt technique, planting questions in the mind of the meditator such as "who am I?" "who is sitting here?" "who is seeking enlightenment?" Each technique was effective at inducing tranquillity in particular disciples.

The education of morality was not emphasized in the early Ch'an School. Ma-Tsu and Pai-Chang stressed only "practice," that is observance of monastic regulation, which was assumed to encompass the essentials of moral conduct. The education of morality is absent as a subject from their Recorded Sayings. The closest we find are the familiar teachings that "the path is not for cultivation," and that "normal mind is the path." Such teachings emphasized that morality as knowiedge was incapable of producing spiritual awakening, which was innate and cultivated by action rather than

[20] Ibid., p. 54.

cogitation and possession of propositions. Thus morality was equated with observance of precepts. The *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun* (禪林寶訓), *Precious Admonitions from Ch'an Monasteries* is collection of later Ch'an moral teachings, including guidance for abbots. The text dates from the Sung Dynasty, and is attributed to Master Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung (1007-1072 C.E.)--who is also known for his brave reconciliation of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism before the emperor.

The teaching of Pai-Chang emphasizes that the ordinary mind is the true spiritual path--the ordinary mind occupied with the tasks of daily life. According to this teaching, all the elements of doing, living, sitting, lying down, interacting and perceiving objects form the Tao (path). Pai-Chang's teacher, Ma-Tsu, asserted "the path needs no cultivation" and "ordinary mind is the path." In this regard their teachings were similar. Both emphasize that completing the daily tasks and managing commonplace circumstances are all elements of the path.[21] Through cultivation of the ordinary mind, Ma-Tsu believed that his students would come to "believe that one's own mind is the Buddha."[22]

A principal difficulty with the doctrine of the ordinary mind seems to be that it precludes development of the useful, indeed normal forms of judgment, decision-making and discrimination necessary for practical living. In fact one wonders whether practical life is possible within such a mindset. Moreover, cultivation of the normal mind does not seem a flexible basis for teaching Buddhism. A talented student interested in cultivating a normal mind must find a good teacher to enlighten him, as

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21 *Chiang-hsi Ma-tsu tao-i Ch'an-shih yu-lu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語錄) HTC 119.406c6-10.

22 HTC 119.405d18.

Ma-Tsu claims: "If a potential sentient being with high potential incidentally encounters a hint from a well learned and enlightened person in conversation, he will suddenly realize his original self-nature without need of experiencing various stages."[23] Mediocre students, however, seem left out of the planning: there appears nothing a mediocre student can do, except to grope after what it means to act with a "normal" mind.

6. Monastic Moral Education

The qualities of a good abbot form an important theme through the Pure Rule literature. An ideal abbot, according to the textual formula, not only possesses morality, propriety, justice, faithfulness, sincerity and righteousness, but manages the monastery with morality that accumulates morality, and propriety, justice, faithfulness, sincerity and righteousness that likewise accumulate. Ideally, the abbot's personal qualities sprout in monks under his leadership. The abbot should be generous, thrift, trusting, a good listener, patient, compassionate, and particularly attentive to the ill and the aged of the monastery, as was Kao-An, who was famous for caring for the sick and elderly under his charge, and for honoring the dead. Hui-T'ang likewise refused to grant monks permission to take vacations, but would permit and even finance journeys to visit parents and family. Just as important, the abbot should be attentive to selfishness, and avoid favoritism of any kind. The ideal abbot governed not according to his own or to his advisors' personal interests, but according to the consensus of the monastery as a whole, as it was said in the popular dictum, "the abbot uses the mind, eyes and ears of the populace as his own mind, eyes and ears." The

[23] HTC 119. 40b10-11.

scholars Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory observe that "it is no accident that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (the *Rule of Ch'an School*) account of Pai-Chang's monastery focused on selection of the abbot and on ritual in which the abbot played a central role, for these were precisely the points where the mythology of Ch'an had exerted the most influence on the organization and operation of the public monasteries that were named as "Ch'an" facilities."[24]

The religious practices traditionally deemed characteristic or definitive of Ch'an monasticism included, in sum, communal manual labor, a strict routine of meditation, religious services, meals, and sleep in a Sangha Hall, and bi-annual retreats. These practices became the common heritage of the Buddhist monastic tradition at large.[25]

This study examines the methods Chinese Buddhists developed under persecutions of T'ang Dynasty emperor Wu-Tzung (841-846 C.E.), which were responses to the decadence into which Buddhism had widely fallen. Two schools recovered rapidly: Ch'an and Pure Land. As a result of the persecutions, Buddhist clerics were no longer lived in cities, new monasteries were built in remote locations. For safety and self-support, Buddhist clerics created new strategies for survival.

The Ch'an patriarchs Ma-Tsu, who created the Ch'an monastery as it is commonly recognized, and his disciple, Pai-Chang, who established the distinctive Ch'an monastic code, laid the foundation for the spread of Ch'an ideals. The spirit of the Ch'an monastic ideal is best reflected in Pai-Chang's dictum, "one day without

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[24] Ebrey, Patricia Buckley & Peter N. Gregory. *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 192.

[25] Ebrey, Patricia Buckley & Peter N. Gregory. p. 192.

work, one day without eating". This ideal emphasizes above all work and practice of spiritual union, as other Ch'an slogans also reveal: working is practice, working is learning, working is listening, and working is a harmonious and cooperated strategies. Work as a spiritual practice, enlightenment through P'u-Ch'ing (普請, all invited or common labor) mindfully undertaken--these were the pathways Ma-Tsu and Pai-Chang cut with brilliant originality and insight.

The Ch'an School originated with Bodhidharma himself, who applied the Lankavatara Sutra as a seal to right understanding. This emphasis continued through the succeeding patriarchs--Hui-K'o, Seng-Ts'an, Tao-Hsin and Hung-Jen until the patriarch Hui-Neng. After Hui-Neng, the Ch'an School was based on the Diamond Sutra for the seal mind based on the importance of the phrase, "...the Bodhisattva, the great being should produce an unsupported thought, or raise the thought which is a completely free thought, depending on no object or motive...."[26] in Hui-Neng's understanding. Hearing this phrase from the Diamond Sutra, Hui-Neng attained enlightenment. Other masters, particularly the disciples of Pai-Chang, Kuei-Shan, Yang-Shan, Huang-Po and Lin-Chi, applied *kung-an* strategies for cultivating their disciples. The teaching of Shen-Hsiu (606-706) utilized the five expedient means and the contemplation of the mind as principal teaching methods. Through Bodhidharma to Hui-Neng and down the lineage of Nan-Yueh, Ma-Tsu and Pai-Chang, the patriarchs' teaching approaches have provided excellent models for Buddhist spiritual development.

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26 Conze, Edward. trans., *Buddhist Wisdom Books: The Diamond Sutra and the Heart Sutra*. (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, Second Edition, 1975), p. 48.

Moreover, although Ch'an monastic administration may be intrinsically somewhat uninteresting, its traditional function and structure are immensely valuable as blueprints and references for both Eastern and Western Buddhist practitioners and monastic organizations, especially the contemporary Ch'an School. Because every of the centralized organization of monastic departments, monastic tasks and procedures are performed efficiently. The organization is especially useful for managing large monasteries: some successful monasteries have housed as many as a thousand monks. The pattern of monastic regulation is useful even to civil government, because monastic regulation not only emphasizes the discharge of mundane tasks, "wholesome mind" and "peaceful lifestyle." The daily life of Ch'an Hall is, after all, not just full of labor, but also of vivid and effective teachings. Ch'an monastic life has successfully integrated education and productivity.

Although during the T'ang and Sung periods, Ch'an patriarchs concentrated on cultivation of the "mind" and did not much emphasize morality, this trend was tempered during the Ming Dynasty, when Ch'an masters began to emphasize moral education. The text, *Ch'an-lin pao-hsun*, is examined in this study as the major Ch'an source for the study of moral education. However, its moral lessons are fragmentary and largely derive from Confucian and Taoist ideals, departing from the essential spirit of the historical Buddha's teaching. The text does elaborate on the qualities of the ideal abbot, and in that regard makes an original contribution to Buddhist ethics from within Buddhist tradition. It is particularly appropriate to the state of Chinese Buddhism today, which is in many respects decadent and degraded, at least in comparison to the accomplishments of prior eras. It is also useful for Western Ch'an followers, who are currently in the process of developing a Ch'an School appropriate to conditions in their own societies.

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CHINESE GLOSSARY

Āgamas 阿含經
An-Chü-Ching 安居竟
An-Hui 安徽
An-shih-chih-luan 安史之亂
Appreciable Official 恩府
Avatamsaka 華嚴經
Book of Filial Piety 孝經
Brahmajāla-Sūtra 梵網經
Ch'an-Ch'i 禪七
Ch'an-chiao-i-chih 禪教一致
Ch'an-lin pao-hsun 禪林寶訓
Ch'an-T'ang 禪堂
Ch'eng-hsin 誠信
Ch'ien-T'ang Shou-Tso 前堂首座
Ch'u-an shih-guei 竹菴士圭
Ch'ung-Ling 崇寧
Chai-T'ang 齋堂
Chan-t'ang's 湛堂
Chang-Lê 長樂
Chao-Hsi 曹溪
Chao-Jen-Dai 昭仁帝
Chao-Yang Hsi-Sun 潮陽西山
Chen Ming-Tao 程明道
Chen Yü 陳羽
Cheng Yi-chuan 程伊川
Cheng-T'ung-Chi-Nein 正統七年
Chiang-Hsi 江西
Chiao-Chao 覺照
Chieh-Ch'i 解七
Chieh-Fang 街坊
Chieh-Hsia 結夏
Chieh-Hsia 解夏
Chieh-La-Chang 節臘章
Chieh-Tieh 戒牒
Chieh-Tung 結冬
Chieh-Tung 解冬
Chien-Fan-Hai-Chu 街坊化主
Chien-Ssu 監寺
Chien-Yuang 監院
Chih 止
Chih-Ch'ih 止持
Chih-Che 智者
Chih-Kao 知客
Chih-Ssu 執事
Chih-Sui 值歲
Chih-T'ien 知殿
Chih-Tsang 知藏
Chih-Yu 知浴
Ching-Tao 淨頭
Ching-hsing 徑行
Ching-hsing-yen 景星巖
Ching-Jen 淨人
Ching-shan 淨善
Ching-Tao 淨頭
Ching-Tê-Chuan-Teng Lu 景德傳燈錄
Ching-Ts'e 警策
Chiu-P'in 九品
Chou Shih-Tzung 周世宗
Chu-Chih-Chang 住持章
Chu-Chuang Chien-Shou 諸莊監收
Chu-Hsi-Chang 祝釐章
Chuang-Shu 莊主
Chun-Chih 郡治
Chung-Fung Ming-Pen 中峰明本
Dei Yang-yi 戴楊億
Director named Tê-kuan 德貫首座
Elder 長老
Establishment 常住
Fa-Ch'ao 法朝
Fa-Ch'i-Chang 法器章
Fa-tsang 法藏
Fa-Yün 法雲

Fan-T'ou 飯頭
Filial Piety 孝經
Final Dharma 末法
Find out "Jen-ch'ing" 得人情
Fo-Ch'ao ts'uo-an 佛照拙菴
Fo-chien 佛鑑
Fo-yen 佛眼
Fu-Chou 福洲
Fu-Chou-Ch'ang-Lê 福州長樂
Fu-Liao 副寮
Fu-Ssu 副寺
Fun-fu-ching yu 凡夫前語
Hall of life Extension 延壽堂
Heaters 聲聞
Hidden unwholesome 隱惡
Ho 喝
Hong-Wu-Shih-Wu-Nein 洪武十五年
Hou-T'ang Shou-Tso 後堂首座
Hsi-Hsu Tao-Tso 西序頭首
Hsi-Lee 錫李
Hsi-Sun 西山
Hsia-Hsia 下下
Hsiang-Yen Chih-Hsien 香嚴智閑
Hsu-Tsang-Ching 續藏經
Hsuan-tsang 玄奘
Hsuan-Tzung 玄宗
Hsui-yueh 水月
Hua T'ou 話頭
Hua-Chu 化主
Hua-Yen T'ou 化緣頭
Huai-Ching 海清
Huan-Chu 幻住
Huang-lung hui-nan 黃龍慧南
Huang-Po 黃檗
Hui-Chao 慧照
Hui-Chu-Ch'ung-K'an-Ch'ing-Kuei 慧聚重刊清規
Hui-Hai 慧海
Hui-hsiao-nu-ma-chieh-Ch'an-chi 嘻笑怒罵皆禪機
Hui-Lung Chen-Chi Monastery 迴龍眞寂寺
Hui-T'ang 晦堂
Hui-Tsung 徽宗
Hung-Chou 洪州
Hung-Sun 洪山
Hung-Sun 衡山
I-ch'ing 疑情
I-Jun 儀潤
Integrity and justice 節義
Jen-yi 仁義
Jui-yen ch'an-ch'a 瑞巖禪剎
K'ao-Tai-Tus 高太祖
K'u-T'ang 庫堂
K'u-Tao 庫頭
Kao-an 高庵
Kindness and justice 仁義
Kuan 觀
Kuei-Ching-Wen 龜鏡文
Kuei-Hsiang 跪香
Kuei-Tao 櫃頭
Kung-an 公案
Kuo-t'ang 過堂
Leng-chieh-shih-tzu-chi 楞伽師資記
Li-yi 禮義
Liang Wu-Ti 梁武帝
Liang-Hsu-Chang 兩序章
Liao-Chu 寮主
Liao-she 寮舍
Liao-Yuan 寮元
Ling-fêng-tzung-lun 靈峰宗論
Lineage master 師承
Ling-yüan 靈源
Liu-tsu t'an-ching 六祖壇經
Loss of virtue 失德
Lotus Sutra 法華經

Lu-Shan 廬山
Lü-shih 律師
Lu-Ss-Kawn 錄司官
Lü-yuan 律院
Lung-Hsing 龍興
Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一
Mahiśasaka-Vinaya 五分律
Managing 住持
Mi-T'o T'ou 彌陀頭
Miao-Hsi Pu-Chueh 妙喜普覺
Ming-Chiao Ch'i-Sung 明教契嵩
Ming-Ti 明帝
Ma-Tsu-Tai-Chi 馬祖大寂
Mo-Chu 磨主
Morality 道德
Morally and humanity 道德仁義
Mūlasarvastivāda-Vinaya 根本說一切有部律
Nan-Ch'ang-Fu-Fun-Hsin-Hsien 南昌府奉新縣
Nan-ch'uan 南泉
Nan-K'ang 南康
Nan-Yu 南獄
Nan-yueh huai-jang 南嶽懷讓
Nien-fo 念佛
Nien-sung 念誦
Nirvāna Sūtra 涅槃經
Not approaching "Jen-ch'ing" 不近人情
P'ao-Hsiang 跑香
P'u-Ch'ing 普請
Pai-Chang 百丈
Pai-Chang Ch'ing-Kuei 百丈清規
Pai-Chang Huai-Hai 百丈懷海
Pai-Chang Kwan Lu 百丈廣錄
Pai-Chang Ta-Ming 百丈塔銘
Pai-chang-Tai-Chih-Shou-Sheng Ch'an Monastery 百丈大智壽聖禪寺
Palace 宮
Pang-ho 棒喝
Pao-En-Chang 報恩章
Pao-Pen-Chang 報本章
Pao-Tzu 袍子
People's activity 行止
Personal cultivation 修身
Personal secret 隱私
Pi-kuan 壁觀
P'ing-ch'ang-hsin 平常心
P'ing-ch'ang-hsin shih tao 平常心是道
Po-Jo T'ou 般若頭
Precept 戒
Private/personal relationship 人情
Rebellion to propriety 悖禮
San Hsiang Shih 散香師
San-kang 三綱
Seng-cheng 僧正
Seng-kuan 僧官
Seng-lu 僧錄
Seng-T'ang 僧堂
Seng-t'ung 僧統
Seng-tou 僧都
Shami 沙彌
Shang Shang 上上
Shang-T'ien 上殿
Shang-tso 上座
Shean-der 顯德
Shen-tsung 神宗
Sheng-Sheng Shih-Chê 聖僧侍者
Sheng-Yi 聖印
Shiang Shih-Chê 香侍者
Shih-Chê 侍者
Shou 壽
Shou-P'ei 守培
Shou-Sheng 壽聖
Shou-Tso 首座
Shou-Tso Ho-Shang 首座和尚
Shu-Chi 書記

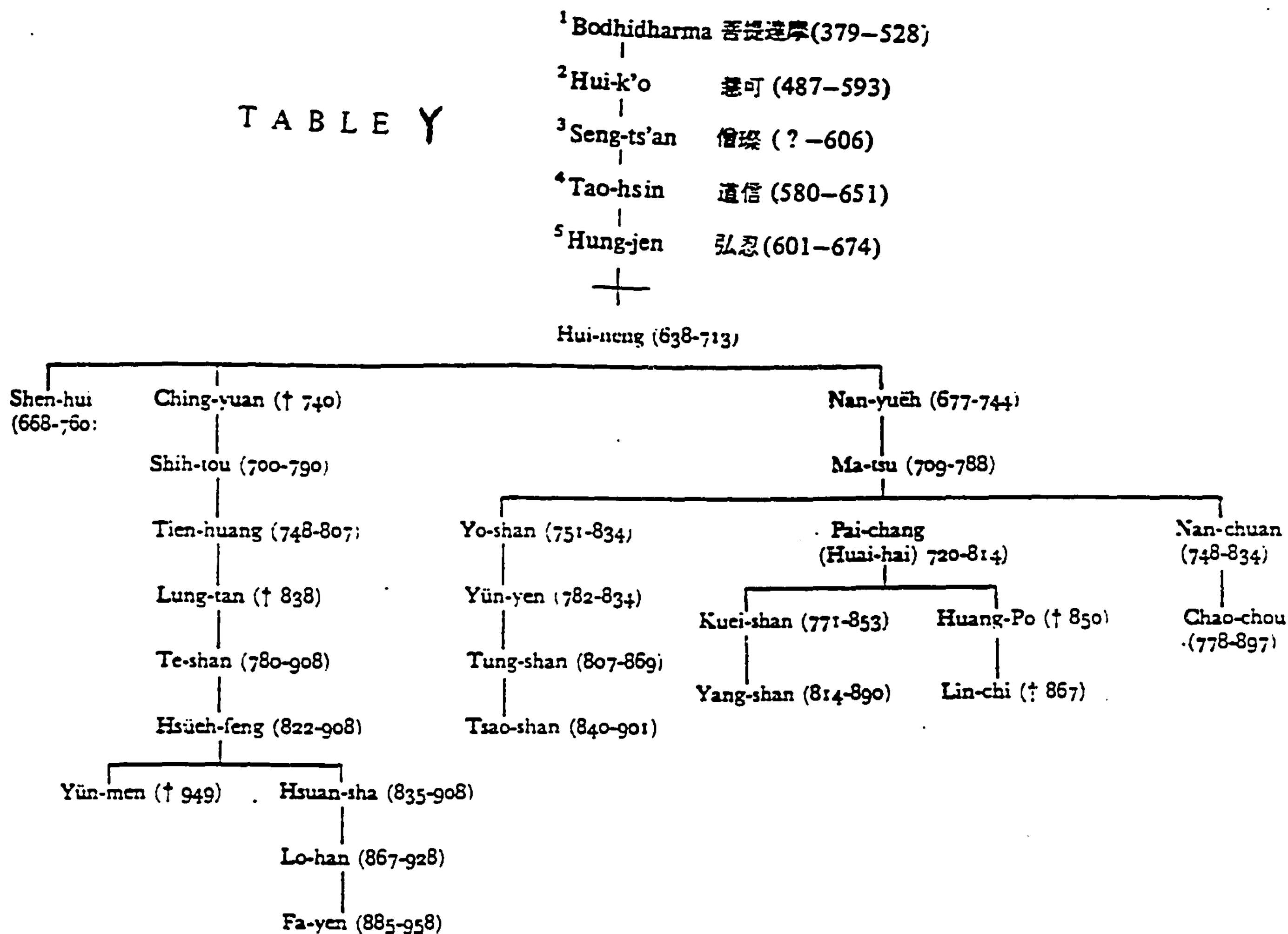
Shu-chi 豎指
Shu-chuan 豎拳
Shu-Chuang 書狀
Shui-Lu 水陸
Shui-T'ou 水頭
Shun-Yüh 山獄
Sitting Ch'an 坐禪
Southern Sudden (Ch'an) and Northern Gradual (Ch'an) 南頓北漸
Śraman 沙門
Śurāñgama Sutra 楞嚴經
Ssu-Chu 寺主
Ssu-Yueh-Ching-T'ou 祀月淨頭
Student Monk" 門僧
Sung Tai-tsu 宋太祖
Sung-Kao-Seng Chuan 宋高僧傳
T'an-ching 壇經
T'an-T'ou 炭頭
T'ang-Chu 堂主
T'ang-Yao 湯藥
T'ang-Yao Shih-Chê 湯藥侍者
T'ein-Man 天門
T'ou-Shou 頭首
Ta-Ch'i 打七
Ta-Chih 大智
Ta-Chung-Chang 大眾章
Ta-Hsin 大訢
Ta-I-Chiu-P'in 大衣九品
Ta-Kua 大掛
Ta-Kwan-Yung-Nein 大觀元年
Ta-Tien 大殿
Tai-Hsiung 大雄
Tai-I 大衣
Tai-Tsu 太祖
Tan-t'ou 壇頭
Tao 道
Tao-Chu 道具
Tao-tê 道德
Tao-yuan 道元
Tê 德
Tê-Hui 德輝
Tein-Ch'ih-Fa-Chih 天池法聚
Teng-T'ou 燈頭
The Necklace Sutra (P'u-sa-yin-lo-ching) 菩薩瓔珞經
The Old Pure Rule 古清規
The Pure Rule of Ch'ung-Ning 崇寧清規
The Pure Rule of Chih-Tai 至大清規
The Pure Rule of Hsien-Ch'un 咸淳清規
The Yogācāryabhūmi-Śāstra 瑜伽師地論
Three Learning 三學
Three Realms 三界
Tien-Ch'a-Pao-Hsiang 點茶拋香
Tien-Tso 典座
Ts'ao-Hsi 曹溪
Ts'ung-lin Ch'ing-kuei 叢林清規
Ts'ung-lin 叢林
Ts'ung-Ning Chiao-Ting Ch'ing-Kuei-Tsung-Yao 崇寧校定清規總要
Tsang-Chu 藏主
Tso Ch'an Chu 坐禪主
Tso Hsiang 坐香
Tso-Ch'an 坐禪
Tso-Ch'ih 作持
Tso-Yüan 座元
Tsu-an 祖安
Tsu-Chi 祖忌
Tsu-I 祖衣
Tsuen-hsi 純熙
Tsun-Tsu-Chang 尊祖章
Tsung-Tsê 宗賾
Tu-Chien-Ssu 都監寺
Tu-Ssu 都寺
Tu-Tsung 度宗
Tung-Hsu Chih-Shi 東序知事
Tung-Ssu 東司

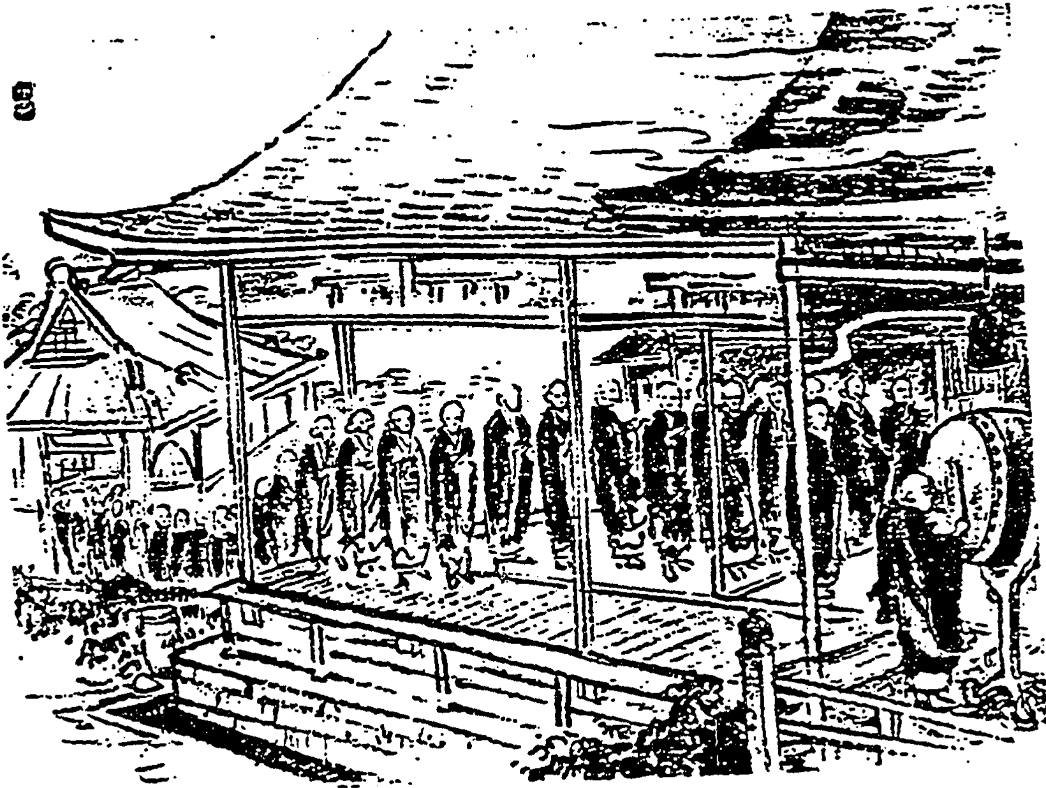
Tzung-Chih 忠智
Tzung-Yi 宗頤
Vaipulyas Sutra方等經
Vinaya 律
Virtue 德
Wei-Na 維那
Wen-Tai-Tus 文太祖
Wen-Tzu-I 萬字衣
Wu-hsin 無心
Wu-i 五衣
Wu-liang-shou-ching 無量壽經
Wu-Tsung 武宗
Wu-Ying 胡瀠
Wu-Yüeh 吳越
Yang-Chih 楊岐
Yang-I 楊億
Yao-shan 藥山
Yen 演
Yen-Shou-T'ang-Shu 延壽堂主
Yih-Hsien 弋咸
Ying-Lo Ching 瓔珞經
Yosai (J) 榮西
Yü-Chu 浴主
Yü-Shih 浴室
Yüan 遠
Yüan-Chu 園主
Yüan-Tao 園頭
Yüan-Tun 元統
Yüan-wu 圓悟
Yüeh Chung Shih 閱眾師
Yüeh-t'ang 月堂
Yün-Ch'i 雲栖
Yün-chü 雲居
Yün-men Wen-yen 雲門文偃

TABLE OF CHINESE DYNASTIES

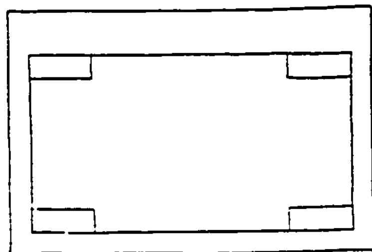
Shang		ca.1766-ca.1125 B.C.			
Chou		1122-256 B.C.			
Ch'in		221-206 B.C.			
Han		206 B.C.-A.D. 220			
Wu 222-280	Wei	220-265	Shu	221-263	
Western Chin		265-316			
Eastern Chin		317-420	Hou Chao		328-352
			Ch'ien Liang		313-376
			Ch'ien Ch'in		351-394
			Hou Ch'in		384-417
			Pei Liang		397-439
Liu Sung		420-479	Northern Wei		386-534
Ch'i		479-502			
Liang		502-557	Northern Ch'i		550-557
Ch'en		557-589	Northern Chou		557-581
Sui		581-618			
T'ang		618-907			
Wu-tai		907-960			
Sung (North)		960-1127			
(South)		1127-1279	Liao		907-1124
			Chin		1115-1234
Yüan		1280-1368			
Ming		1368-1644			
Ch'ing		1644-1912			

CHINESE CH'AN (ZEN) BUDDHIST MONASTICISM AND ITS TEACHING

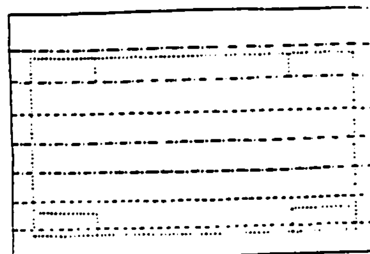




Monks Filing up *Plate 30*

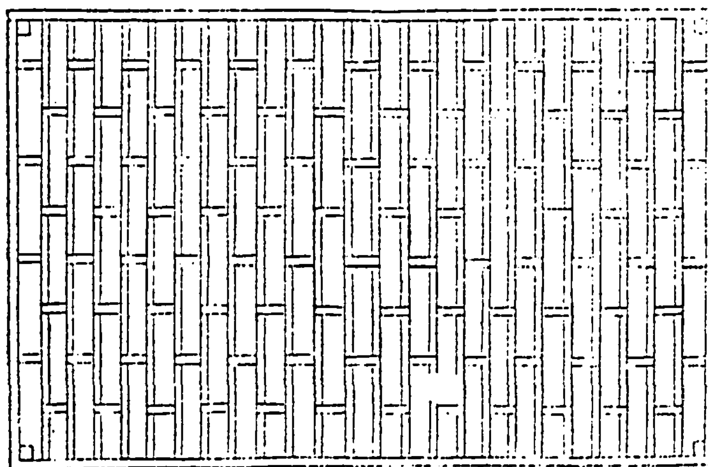






358. Praying Rug. HUI CHU SSU. PAO HUA SHAN. *Scale 1:20. Coloured Grass cloth. Border black, central panel blue, oblong corners red. ----------- Outside folds. --------------- inside folds. When the rug is folded and held properly by the monk the broad part of the black border is alone to be seen. Cf. Plate 215 where a praying rug is carved in the stone slabs in front of the Abbot. Chien Yüeh's tomb.*

此衣九品呈示。 **僧伽梨大衣** 上品。餘準減作。



The Big Robe Picture 1



355. SZECHUAN. O MEI SHAN. *Chiu Lao Tung.*
Novices wearing the Ch'i I.



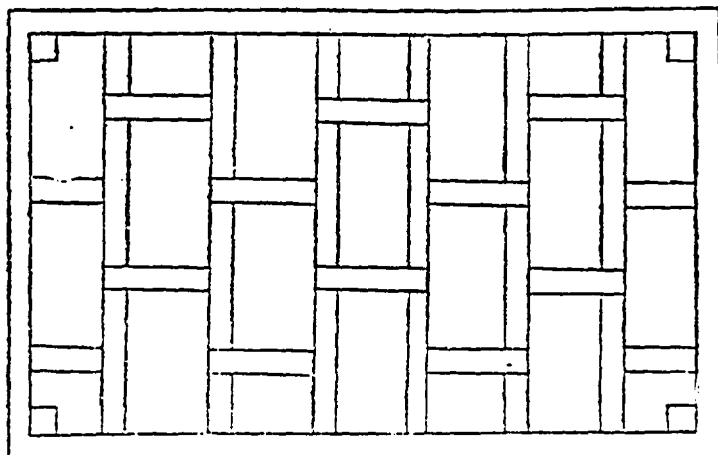
356. KIANGSU. PAO HUA SHAN. *Hui Chü Ssu.*
Leader wearing Tsu I and P'i Lu Mao.



357. PEIPING. HOPEI.
Wan Tzu I with Shou character, bats and flowers.

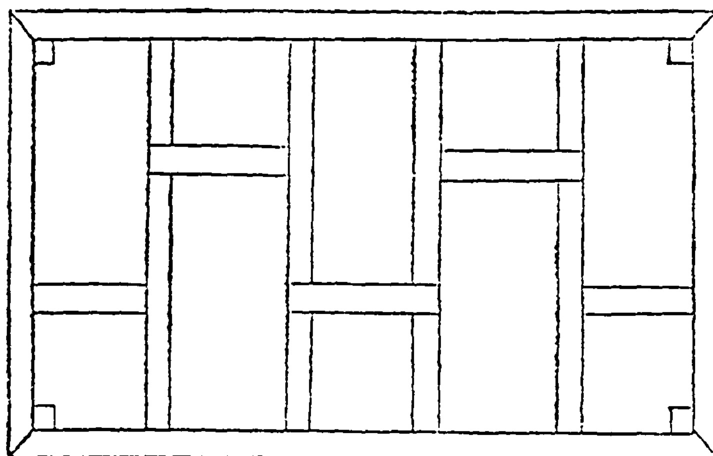
The Wan-Tzu-I (萬字衣) Picture 2

鬱多羅僧七條

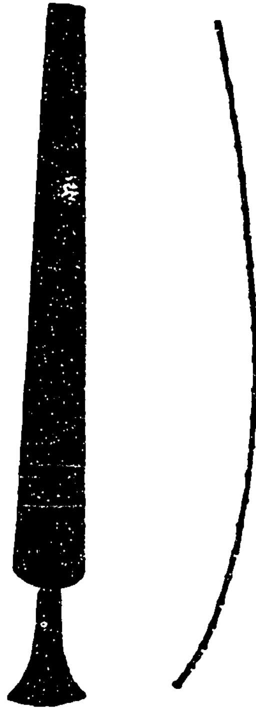


The Robe of Seven Parts Picture 4

安陀會五條

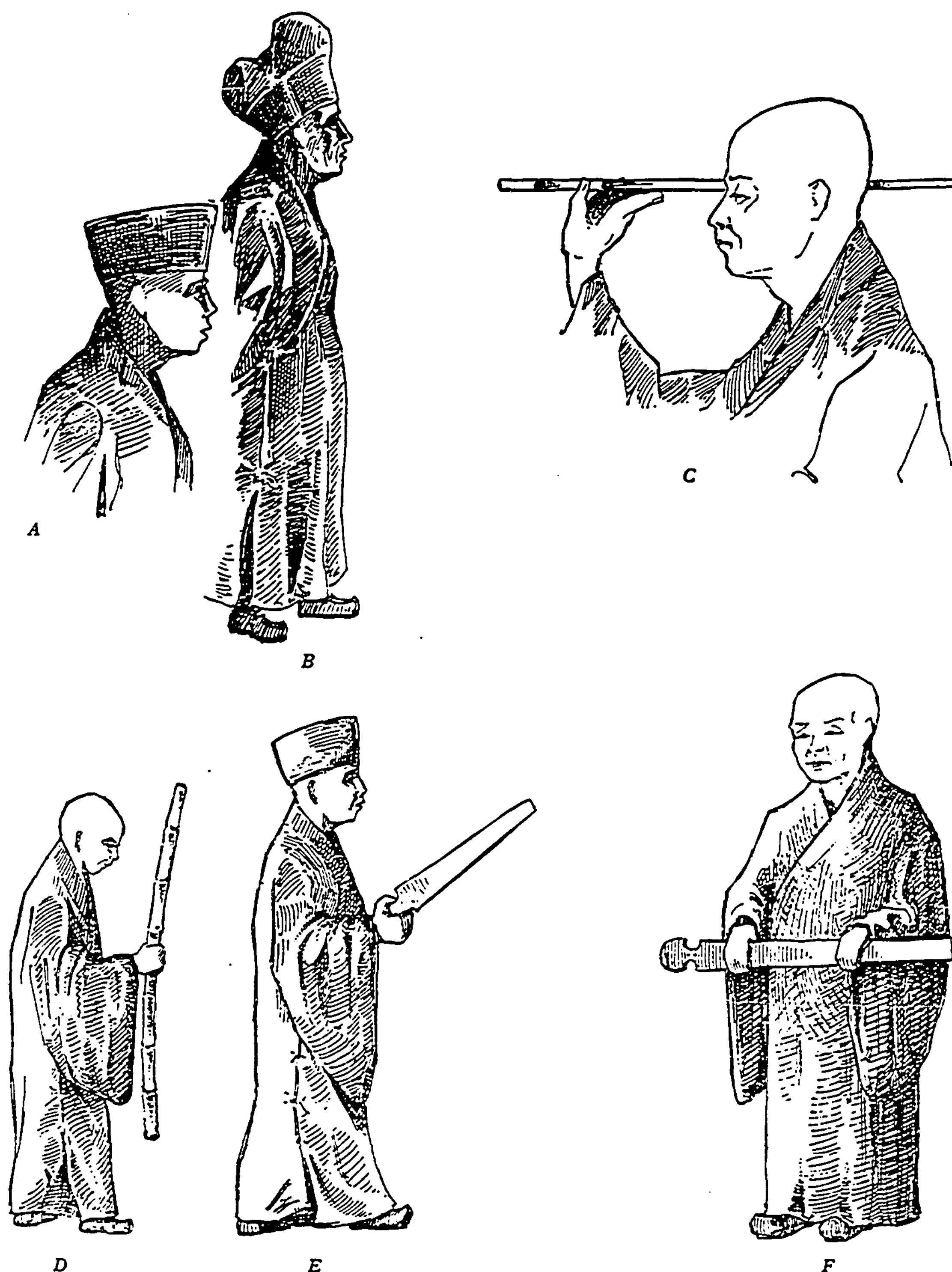


The Robe of Five Parts Picture 5



103. Hanyang. Kuei Yüan Ssu. Hsiang Pan (Left), 71 cm.
Pao Hua Shan. Hui Chü Ssu. Bamboo Whip (Right).

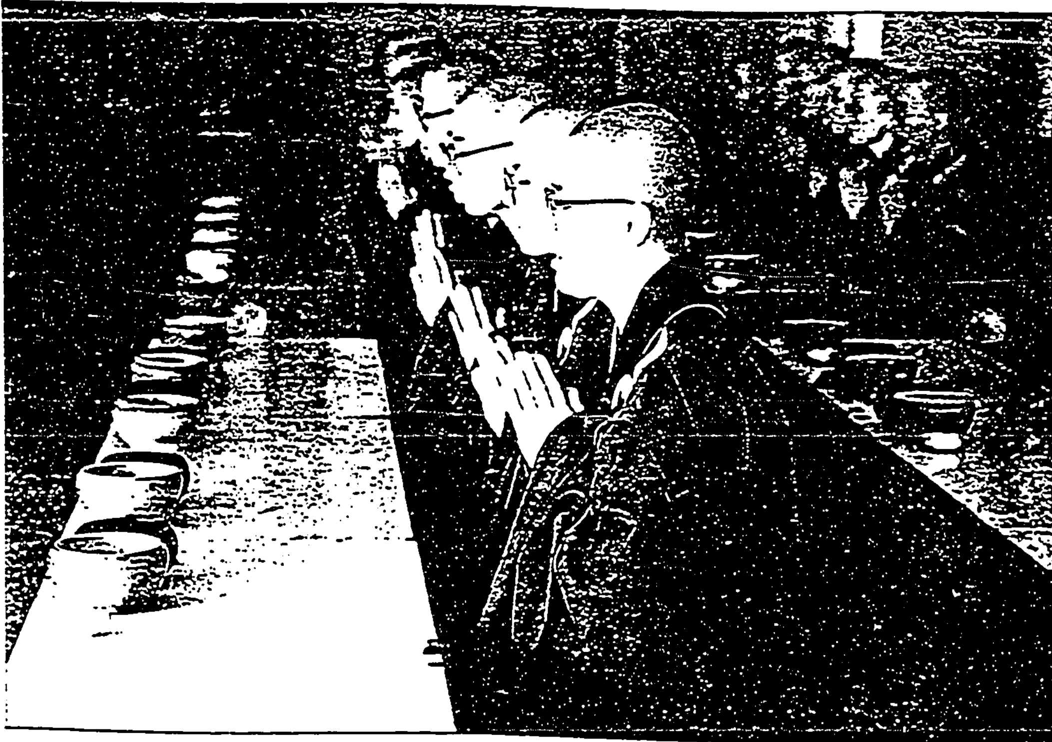
A Meditation Hour.

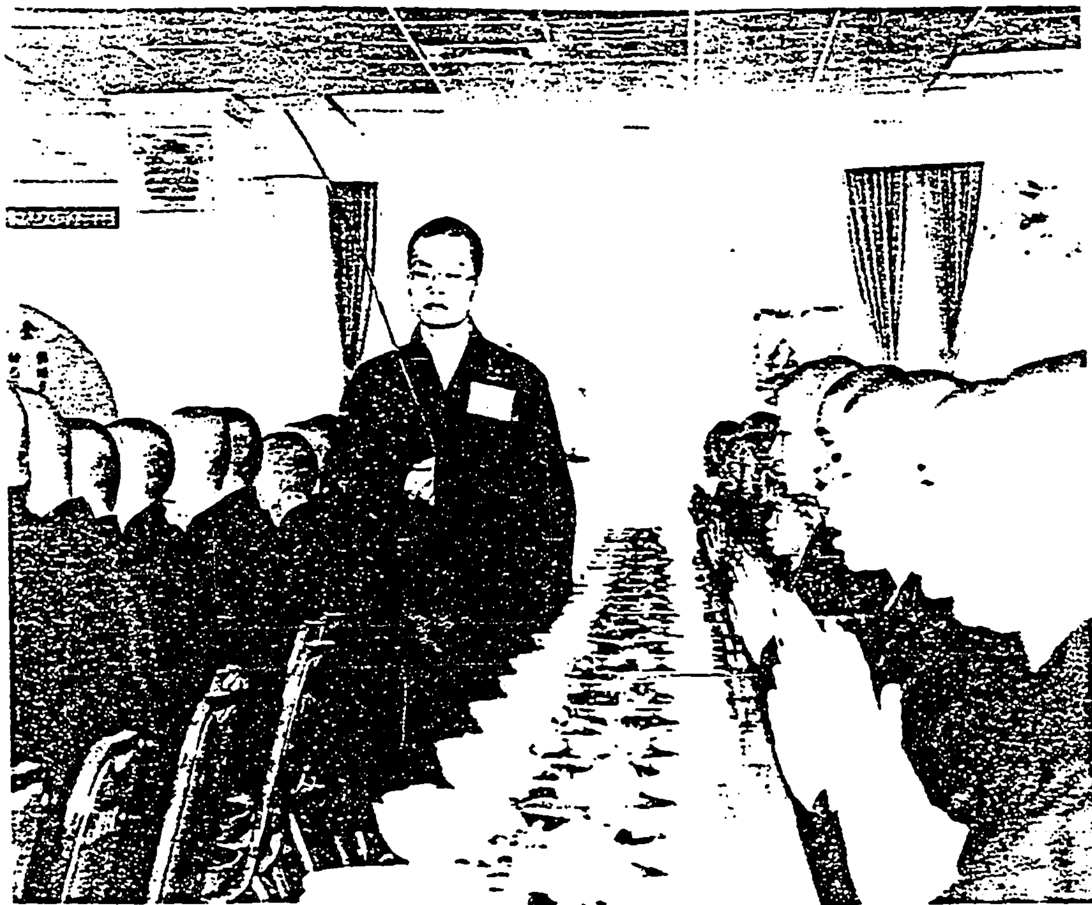


98. Monks in Meditation Hall. A. The Wei Na with the cap called P'ing Ting Kuan. B. The Hsiang Teng Shih with the cap called Kuan Yin Ho Chang. C. The Hsün Hsiang Shih with the Hsiang Pan resting on his ear. D and E. The San Hsiang Shih holding the Bamboo Rod and following the Wei Na who holds the Hsiang Pan. F. The Hsün Hiang. Shih standing in front of the altar.

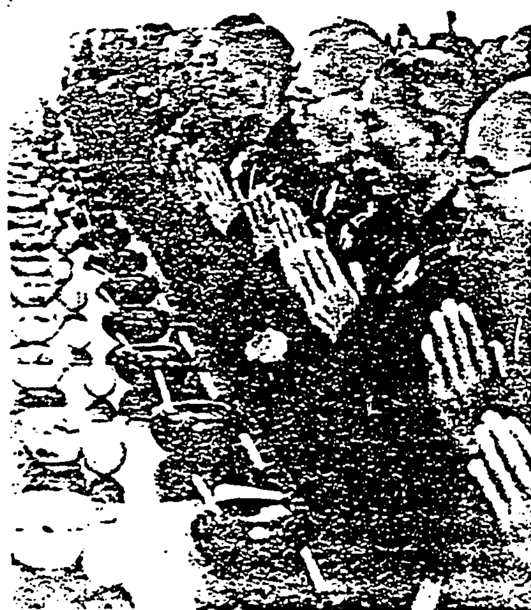


Dining Room *Plate 15*



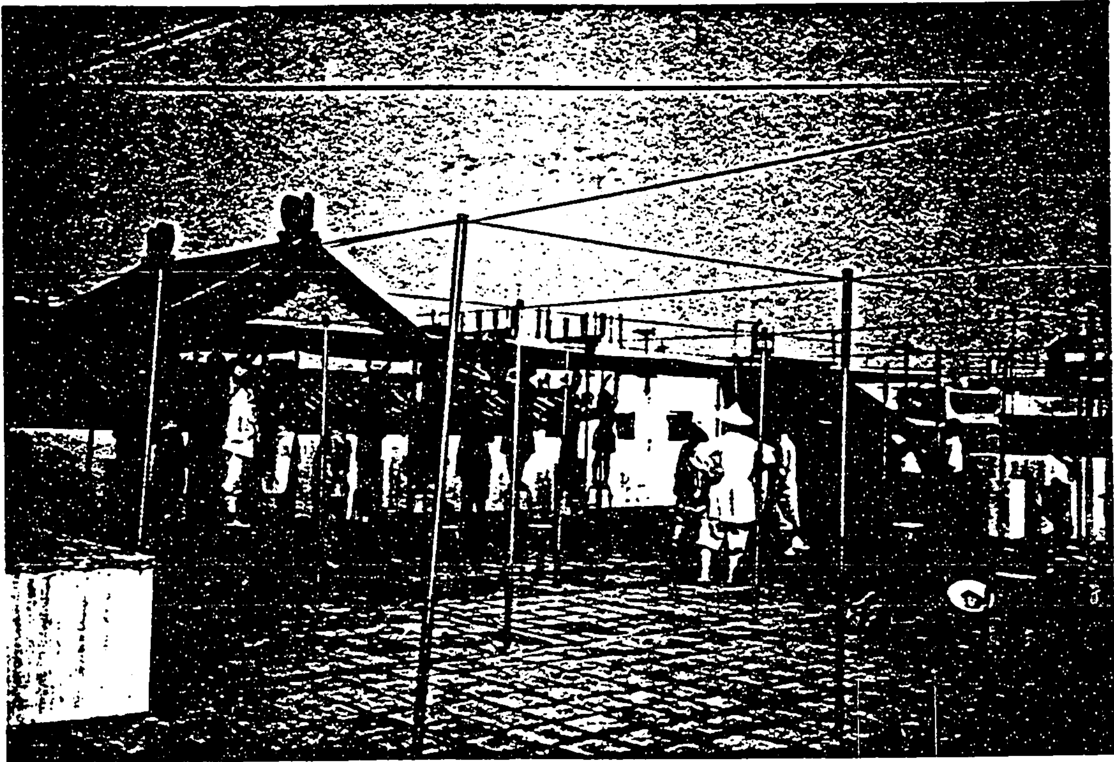


過堂：



一圖，本刊檔案照片

Dining Room (Meal before chanting)





P'u-Ch'ing (All Invited)





P'u-Ch'ing (All Invited)

雲水生活

◎福山

初夜，寺裡環繞著波水相激的梵唱聲它的心悸開始，到熟悉的運觀，乃至諦聽時豁然欲躍的生命感動，就這一隨順間，已六年光景消逝了！

六年，二千多個方圓規矩的日子，如此一轍地：

清晨四點半，三板起叩之起床板；十分鐘的漱洗（三百多人）、排班；五點早殿的梵唱和誦；六點過堂（早餐）；七點起的課堂教授；十一點排班過堂（午餐）、跑香，爾後一個半鐘頭的午憩；十三點半開始下午二堂教授；十五點半出坡、盥洗；十八點排班藥石（晚餐）；十九點的晚自修；二十點四十五分排班晚殿；二十二點零二分開大靜：

如是，遠離俗務已二千多個朝暮！活在當下的無一時一無一刻」：（叢林之教育制度，一切以鐘板爲訊息，無須鐘錶）這份欣喜，來得不突然，三年前，雖已剃度染衣，執披法衣，執持大戒，但尚懵然在法海中浪盪及心慌。

三年後，懂得一些人我與欲界間的牽連及互動的因緣，從此才在佛法裡重新標點人生！



出坡提水是雲水生活的一部份。

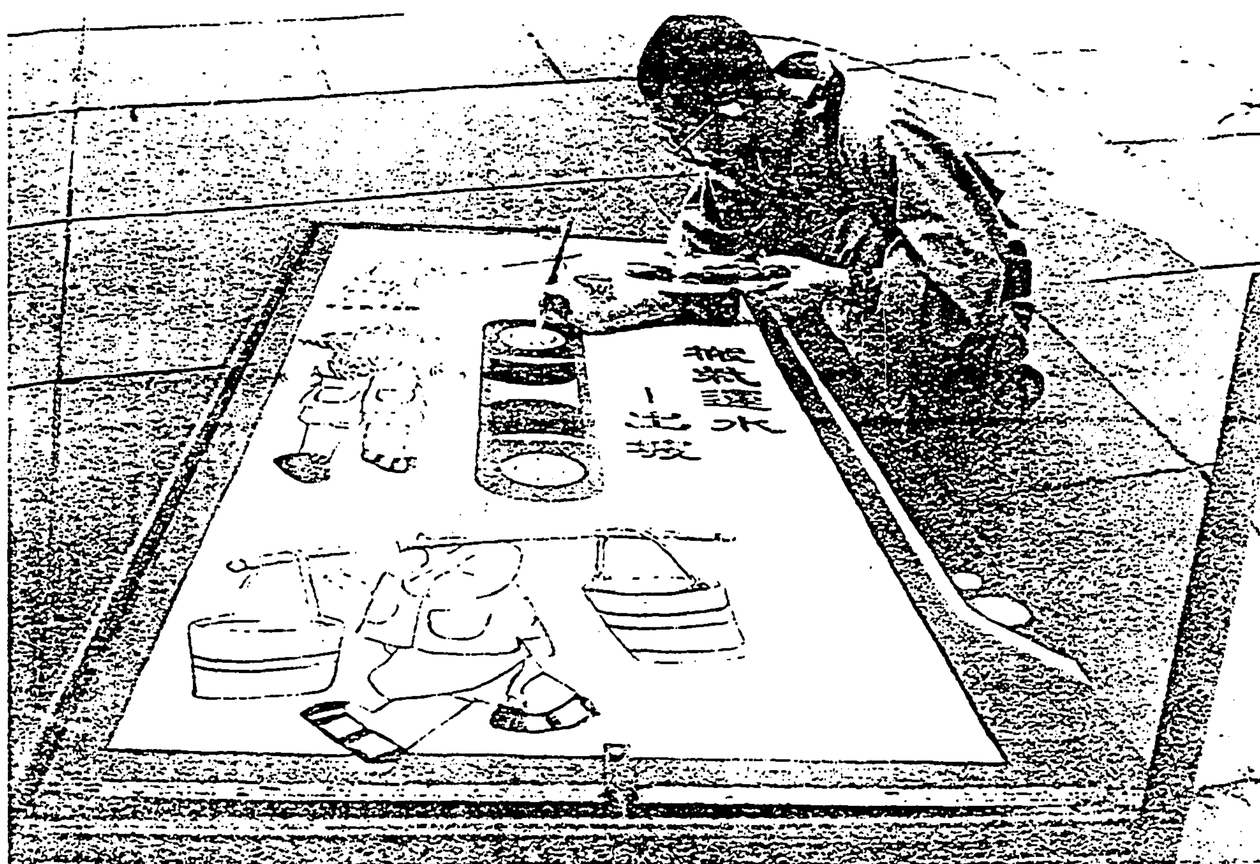
中夜，鐘鼓叩響下，傍床榻沿邊，結跏趺坐……。接聽一百零八下暮鐘之叩。

P'u-Ch'ing (All Invited)









出坡

[illegible]

P'u-Ch'ing (All Invited)

出坡

叢林凡事值務勞役時，普請大眾上下合力，稱為普請，今俗稱出坡

民國鞏固 世界大同

護戒牒

大寶華山護國聖化隆昌寺戒壇

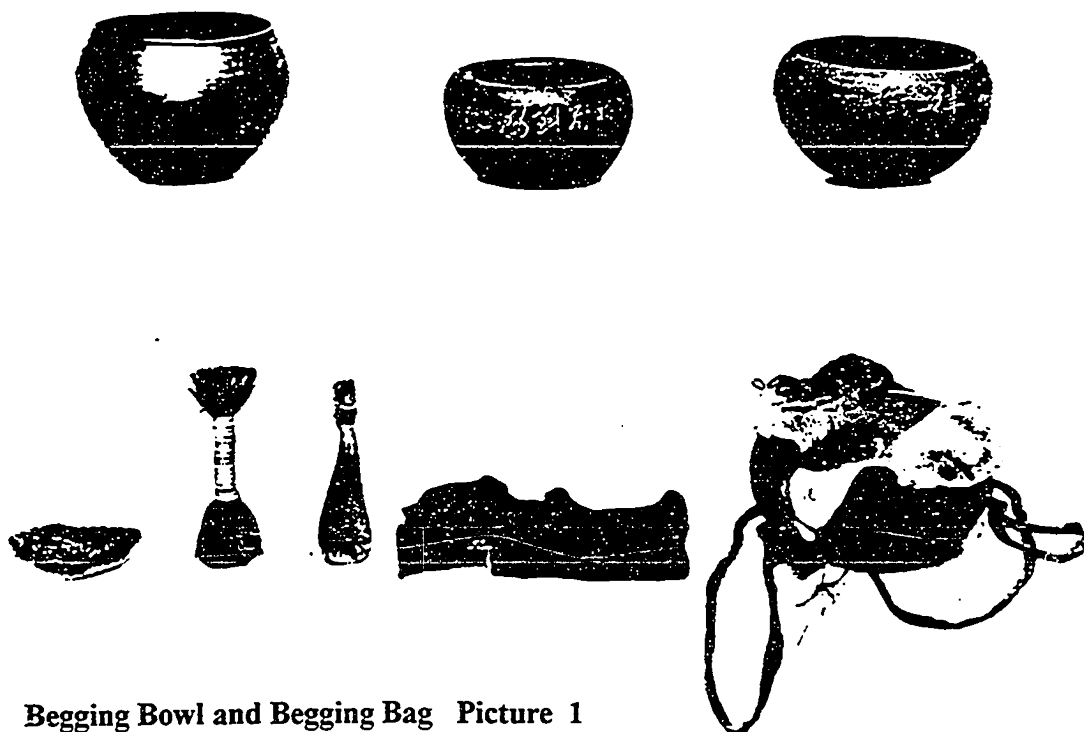
中華民國二十年五月二十四日右牒給付菩薩戒弟子覺是收執

佛日增輝 法輪常轉

329. Kiangsu. Pao Hua Shan. *Hui Chü Ssu.*
Monk's Ordination Certificate (I). About 1/2 actual size.

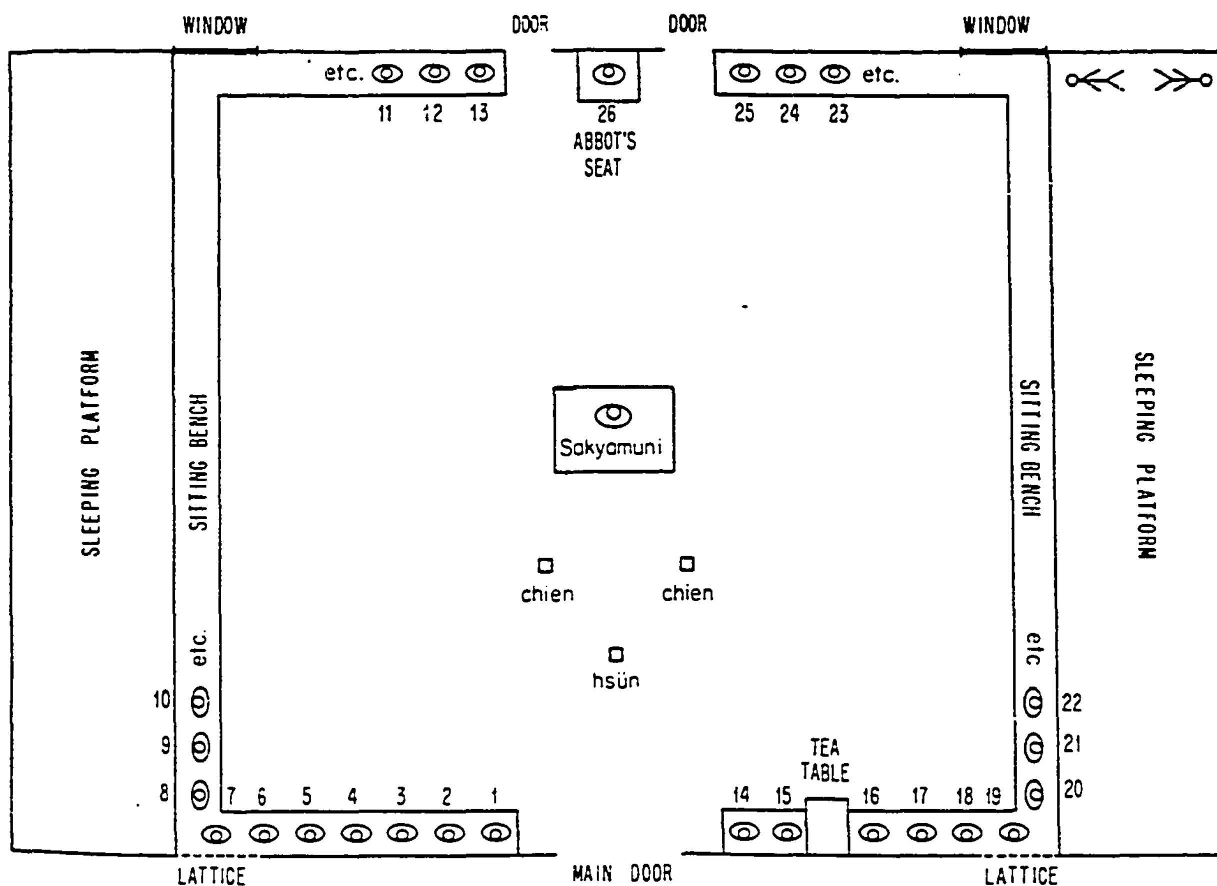
Monk and Nun's Ordination Certificate (the sample of Chieh-Tieh 戒牒, picuture Y)





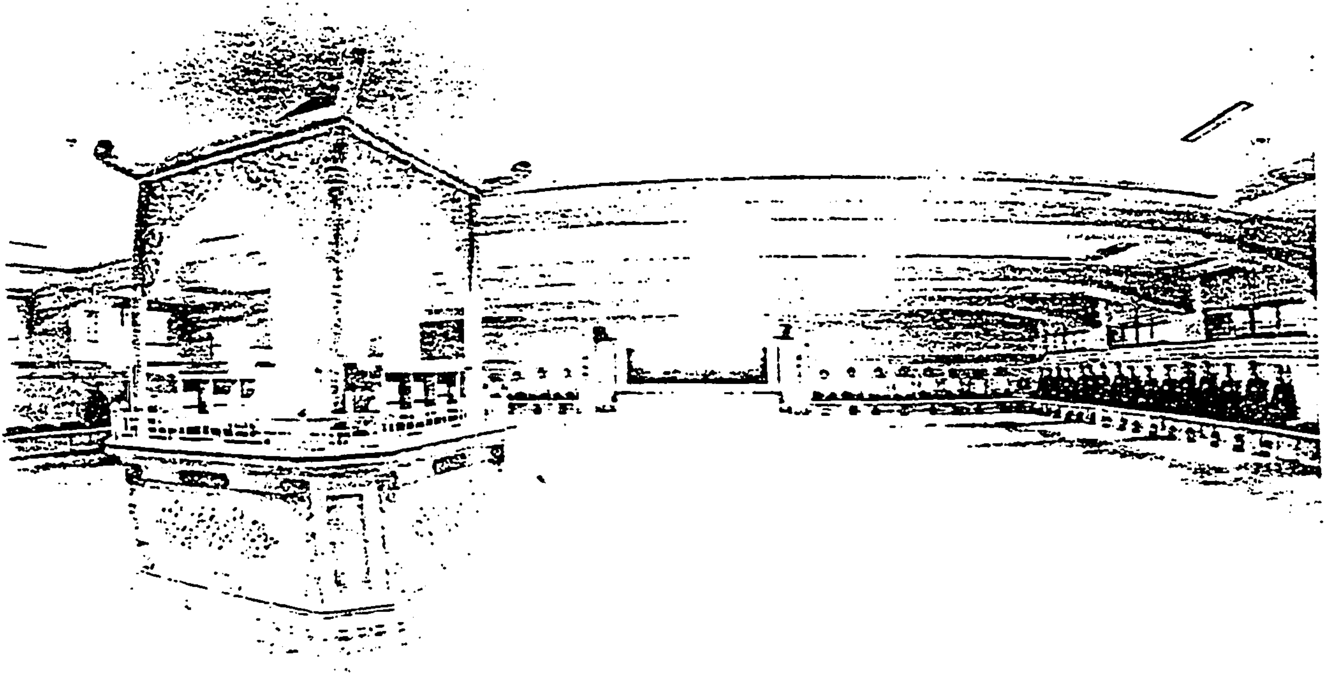
Begging Bowl and Begging Bag Picture 1

317. Begging Bowls from Central-China monasteries
Cover, filter bags, spoon etc. from *Hui Chü Ssu.*



CHIN SHAN'S MEDITATION HALL

The numbers in this diagram refer to the seat numbers of the following: 1. Rector; 2. Senior instructor; 3-4. Associate instructors; 5-6. Assistant instructors; 7-12. Lower western ranks (secretaries, librarians, canon prefects, contemplatives), but when he is present the proctor sats at 7; 13. Water-bearer; 14. Meditation patrol (when not st[illegible]ding on the tile marked *hsün*); 15. Duty monk; 16. [illegible]ecentor; 17. Duty succentor; 18-24. Succentors and eastern ranks (deacons, thurifers, acolytes), but when they are present a secretary and the head sacristan sit at 18 and 19, while within the ranks precedence is given to office holders when they are present; 25. Verger; 26. *Wei-mo k'an*—"the dais of Vimalakirti," that is, the abbot's seat.



Meditation Room

課誦

在佛前
早晚合起手來，
字字皆是[illegible]明，
聲聲[illegible][illegible]慈悲，
化為言語，
出自口中，
積在心裡。

（文／玫陀羅．攝影／黃國坤）

Go to the Worship Hall in the morning and everning (Shang-T'ien 上殿, picture X)

課　誦

指佛教寺院定時念持經咒、禮拜三寶及梵唄歌讚等五堂功課。

五堂功課

早課、早齋過堂、午齋過堂、午殿、晚殿。

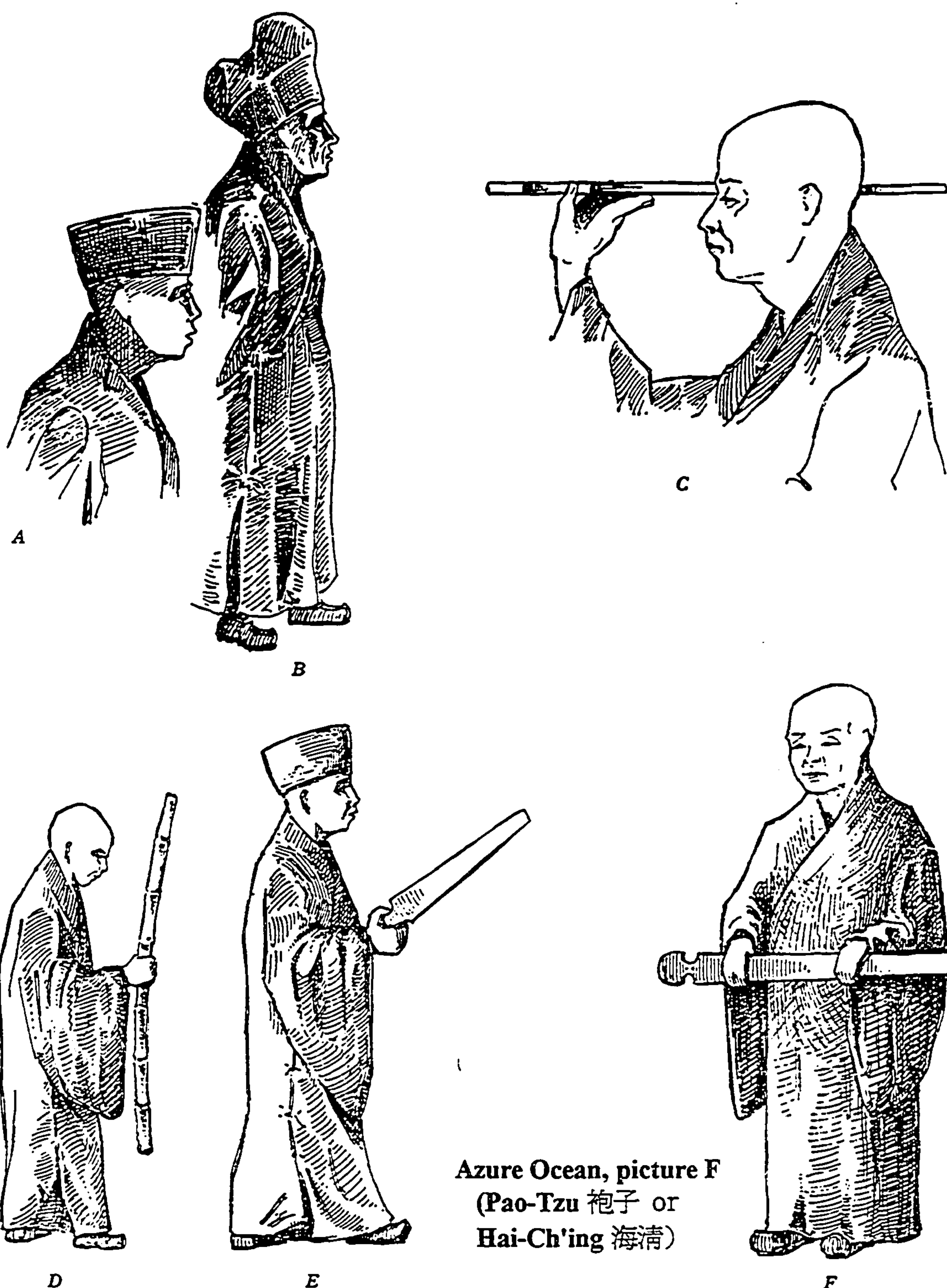


16. Monks sit in the meditation hall during summer. Each monk holds a piece of split bamboo to cool his hands. Chiao Shan, Chen-chiang.

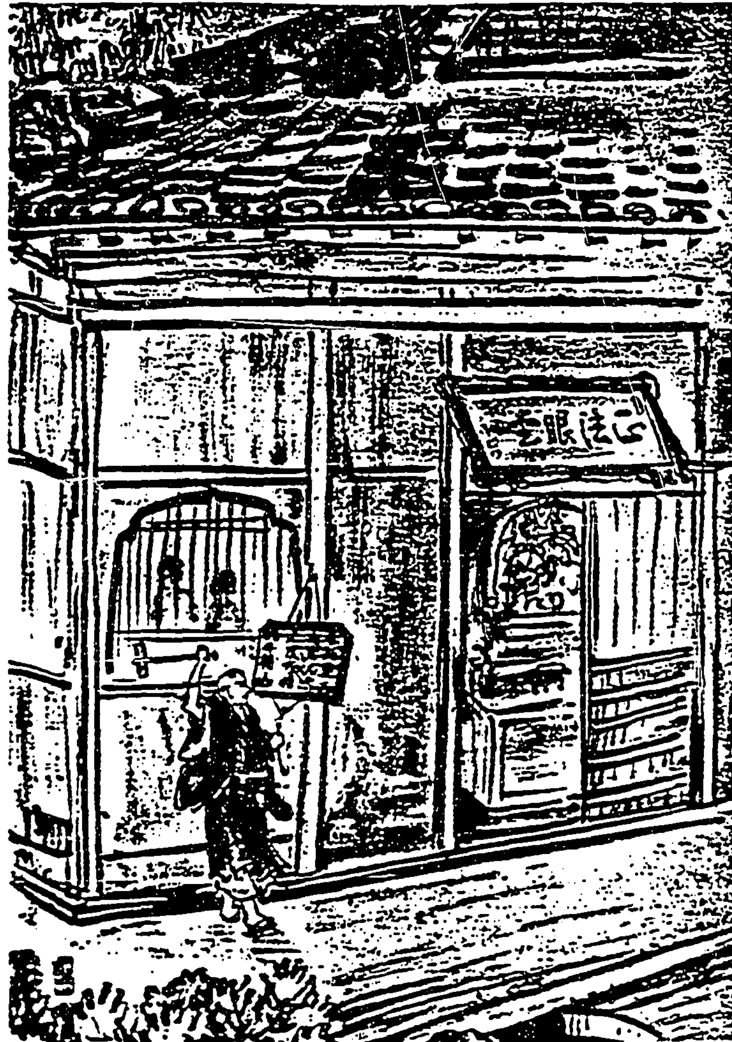


Walking Exercise Plate 26





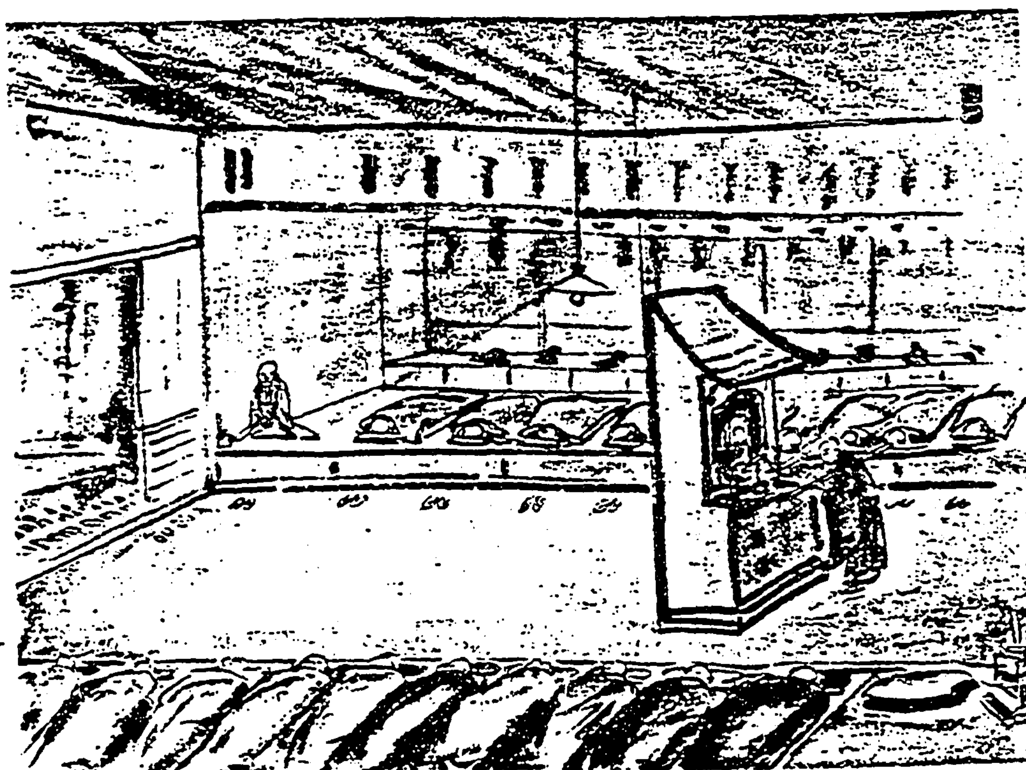
98. Monks in Meditation Hall. A. The Wei Na with the cap called P'ing Ting Kuan. B. The Hsiang Teng Shih with the cap called Kuan Yin Ho Chang. C. The Hsün Hsiang Shih with the Hsiang Pan resting on his ear. D and E. The San Hsiang Shih holding the Bamboo Rod and following the Wei Na who holds the Hsiang Pan. F. The Hsün Hiang. Shih standing in front of the altar.



The Hall of the Eye of the Right Dharma, 正法眼堂
Plate 24



Bedding Put up *Plate 27*



Good Night to the Holy Monk *Plate 28*